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# *Royal Commission on Book Publishing*

*Background Paper*







# ROYAL COMMISSION ON BOOK PUBLISHING

*Background Papers*

*Queen's Printer and Publisher • Province of Ontario*



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# Contents

vii		<i>Introduction</i>
1	H. Pearson Gundy	<i>The Development of Trade Book Publishing in Canada</i>
38	C. J. Eustace	<i>Developments in Canadian Book Production and Design</i>
61	George Woodcock	<i>On the Resources of Canadian Writing</i>
86	Robin M. Farr	<i>Sources of Financial Assistance to Authors and Publishers</i>
111	Roy C. Sharp, Q.C.	<i>Some Copyright Concerns of Canadian Authors and Publishers</i>
135	John V. Mills, Q.C.	<i>Composers, Authors and Publishers Association of Canada, Limited</i>
143	W. E. Curry	<i>The Impact of the U.S. Manufacturing Provisions</i>
154	Hilary S. Marshall and Ian Montagnes	<i>International Publishing</i>
173	David McGill	<i>The Marketing of Trade Books in Canada</i>
195	June Whitteker	<i>Trade Bookstores in Canada</i>
211	F. Beverley Moore	<i>College Bookstores</i>
223	Sonja Sinclair	<i>Public and School Libraries</i>
245	Sheila A. Egoff	<i>The Writing and Publishing of Canadian Children's Books in English</i>
270	S. J. Totton	<i>The Marketing of Educational Books in Canada</i>
311	Viola E. Parvin Day	<i>The Authorization of Textbooks for the Schools of Ontario from 1846 to the Present</i>
331	F. L. Barrett	<i>Textbook Selection in the Other Canadian Provinces</i>
344	Charles E. Phillips and Freeman K. Stewart	<i>Interprovincial Co-operation on Curriculum</i>
362	G. A. Ferguson	<i>Australian Book Publishing</i>
374	Georges Laberge and André Vachon	<i>Book Publishing in Quebec</i>



# Introduction

For an industry devoted to the dissemination of information, book publishing has appeared remarkably reticent over the years about discussing in print its own activities. This is not to say it has been secretive, for publishers as a class have shown themselves (both by tradition and before this Commission) more than prepared to talk about the process – part art, part science, part craft, and increasingly hard-headed business – by which they transform an author's manuscript into a printed and bound volume in a reader's hands. Perhaps it is just that they have generally been too busy making other people's books to write their own. In any case, very few significant guides to the publishing process as a whole have been written in English during the past half century. The most notable of these few have been Sir Stanley Unwin's *The Truth About Publishing* (which appeared in 1926), Chandler B. Grannis's *What Happens in Book Publishing* (1957), and Herbert S. Bailey, Jr.'s *The Art and Science of Book Publishing* (1970). The first is British, the others American. The substantial time between successive publications suggests why the appearance of each was considered something of an event.

Not surprisingly, nothing comparable has appeared from Canada, although *The University as Publisher* (1961) comes closest in its treatment of a specialized area. For the most part the bibliography of Canadian publishing consists of a handful of company histories, a few general articles in journals and in books about the arts, and the back files of the trade paper, *Quill & Quire*. Canadians who have wanted to learn about book publishing have had to turn to the classics by Unwin and Grannis and to other British or American works, which contain enough universal knowledge to be of considerable value, but which are written in a foreign context that is not always relevant to Canada. Residents of the Toronto area have, during the past four years, been able to attend a survey course of evening lectures in publishing offered by the Canadian Book Publishers' Council in co-operation with the Uni-



versity of Toronto Division of Extension. Those who could qualify might also take a graduate-level course about publishing offered by the School of Library Science, University of Toronto, for some years now, or one started last fall for graduate students at York University. In general, however, the information one might expect to find about the practices, policies, and problems of Canadian publishing simply has not existed – at least not in a form that was easily or generally available.

The Royal Commission on Book Publishing quickly found itself, in the course of its inquiry, in the same position as any student of this field in Canada. Both in discussions and in formal presentations at hearings, it became clear that there were substantial areas for which no adequate background information was available to us, and in which, indeed, in many cases little ever had been written. It was decided therefore to commission a series of background papers, to be prepared by persons experienced in such areas, to help fill the gaps. These papers are presented in the following pages in the belief that they will make a contribution to a better understanding of publishing in Canada. They were written independently, in general in a relatively short time during the summer and autumn of 1971. For some the authors carried out considerable research, but even these authors depended primarily upon years of intimate involvement with their subjects. Because the papers have been written from different viewpoints and different experiences, with only the broadest of editorial instructions, there are some contradictions and inconsistencies from one to another, and inevitably some overlapping. In the inter-relationships thus demonstrated between segments of the industry, part of the value of this volume lies.

It must be emphasized that the Royal Commission takes no responsibility for what is expressed. Nor do we agree with all the views that are stated; that would be impossible, anyway. The background papers were prepared solely as documentation which could assist us in reaching conclusions and preparing our final report. They are for the most part factual. We have tried to preserve them as they came to us, with some minor editing for “house style” and clarity, rather than to try to force each into a mould in order to create an artificial unity or coherence. It will quickly become apparent that what results is not a comprehensive or fully balanced guidebook to Canadian publishing. It deals principally with English-language publishing in Canada, and particularly with that large portion of it based in Ontario, despite the fact that the Commissioners are well aware of the vigorous French-language publishing community of Quebec and of noteworthy English-language houses in other provinces; this bias was dictated by the terms of our inquiry. Little is said of such specialized areas as scholarly, religious, or legal publishing. The papers, moreover, do not touch, except in passing, on some of the most serious problems facing the industry, such as the troubles of the agency system and the shortage of working capital; these subjects, it was felt, were discussed in sufficient detail in briefs presented to the Commission which are available elsewhere, and

they will be considered again in our final report. They did not seem to require separate, further treatment. On occasion, the careful reader will note, the authors have been victims of time, so rapid have been events in recent months; some of the figures quoted may now be slightly out of date (even between the writing of one paper and another some statistics changed!) and some policies are under review; but the total picture that emerges is, we are confident, a valid one. The papers have added considerably to our deliberations, and we are grateful to the authors who found time in busy schedules to prepare them, carefully, fully, and graciously.

Even in the limited group of books devoted to publishing in general, this volume will appear unusual for its breadth of coverage. This too is a result of the terms of reference given this Commission, which comprehensively embrace all aspects – commercial, cultural, and educational – of the flow of books to the reader. The papers deal principally with the Canadian publisher – how he has developed over two centuries, and in particular how today he attempts to ensure that his books will achieve maximum distribution across this country and in other parts of the world. Special attention is paid to the two major branches of publishing: trade books, hardcover and paperback, which are designed for general or specialized readerships and which are distributed through retail stores, mail order, book clubs, and other means to the public at large; and educational books, which are prepared specifically for use in schools and colleges, and which are purchased almost entirely by institutions or by institutionally-owned bookstores.

The papers also consider the development of the native graphic arts industry which serves the publisher, and the restrictions under which it operates, including those imposed from outside this country. They explore the “natural resources” of a national publishing industry, which are the strengths of its writers; the assistance that is available to authors and their publishers through government and other sources; the protection that is afforded to authors and publishers through copyright, and the concerns raised in this area by the new technology. Other papers explore the special problems of bookstores in a nation that has more books available to it than any other in the world – and relatively few outlets specializing in their distribution. Libraries, both the traditional public library and increasingly the school library, are important customers for publishers; their practices and policies are the subject of one paper and arise in several others. That most difficult of books to do well, and the most vital for the long-term development of a community of readers, the children’s book, receives special consideration. So do the books designed for young Canada’s formal education, including the ways in which schoolbooks are selected by provincial governments, the changing patterns of those decisions, the extent of interprovincial co-operation, and the implications of all this for a publishing industry which has long looked to the classroom for its bread and butter. Finally, the papers cross national and linguistic boundaries, to consider how Australia has met an incursion of foreign-based publishing since the second world war, and

to study some recent important initiatives taken by the Government of Quebec to strengthen indigenous publishing and bookselling within its jurisdiction.

A complex grouping of papers, but certain themes recur throughout the volume. Most frequently expressed are the difficulties in originating, publishing, and selling books in a country with a breadth of 4,500 miles, a short cultural history, a scattered population divided by language, a school market split by provincial boundaries, and moreover with one huge competing publishing industry as a neighbour and two others a hop-skip-and-jump away on the other side of the Atlantic. Canadian publishers confront a huge land and limited market; they must also struggle to achieve recognition of their own books in the midst of an immensely greater flood of books from the United States, Britain, and France which have the advantages of larger printing runs, larger publicity budgets, and (in the case of mass-market paperbacks) marketing practices which have created disabilities for the home-grown product. The opening of Canadian subsidiaries of foreign houses, and the purchase of Canadian publishers by foreign firms, are aspects of this theme that have understandably received considerable attention before the Commission.

Several other recurring themes documented in these papers are part and parcel of our changing society. One is the shift in educational thinking which, in any given subject, has virtually discarded the single authorized textbook (which could safely be manufactured in tens of thousands and had a dependable market life of seven years or more) in favour of a number of recommended and competing titles (which still require large initial investments but offer the prospect of only limited and uncertain sales). Another is the impact of the new technology – of audio-visual materials which compete with the book for the school and library dollar, and of photocopying and computerized data storage which erode copyright. Both have alarming implications for an already-embattled industry. These matters, as well as others, will be dealt with in more detail by the Commission in its final report.

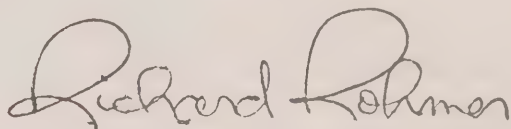
Yet another theme that emerges from many of the authors is one of frustration and conflict between the various segments of the book industry – between publisher and book manufacturer, publisher and bookseller, publisher and librarian, publishers' representative and teacher, publisher and book reviewer. A dispassionate outsider might argue that such conflicts are inevitable given the nature of the book as it is described in this volume – for seemingly it is a product that flies in the face of the twentieth century. The North American economy is in large part based on books that are corporately created, produced in huge numbers, and massively advertised by brand names. Books, on the other hand, remain (as becomes clear in the following pages) individually crafted items, produced in relatively small numbers and in bewildering variety, requiring specialized selling, and created by individual authors whose rights must be ensured in order that their creativity will be further stimulated. Some 70,000 new titles are published in English around the world each year and a substantial number of these – plus a much larger number of



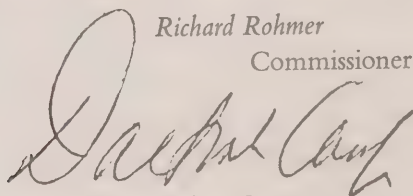
old titles – are available in Canada through the originating publisher, his subsidiary, or his agent. The reader will perhaps not be surprised at the difficulty of manufacturing, stocking, shipping, and billing such a variety of merchandise.

Because the last few years have been some of the most difficult that Canadian publishing has weathered, the papers return again and again to the restrictions under which the industry operates – limitations imposed by geography, by population, by changing educational theories, by new technology, by foreign laws, by poor communication. But other portions of the volume suggest that Canadian publishing has both strength and potential. Its resources of authors are increasing in number and capability: Canadian literature, Professor George Woodcock proclaims, is a vigorous, growing, and continuing tradition, and the availability of talent and dedication presses constantly on publishing resources. The calibre of Canadian book design and production is evidenced by the flow of medals and prizes from recent international competitions. The country's graphic arts industry may gain new strength if revisions to the U.S. Copyright Law pass Congress. And, finally, what shines through every one of the papers, the Canadian book industry can draw on the services of a number of highly competent men and women who have sharpened their talents in order to fight the long odds, and clearly enjoy it.

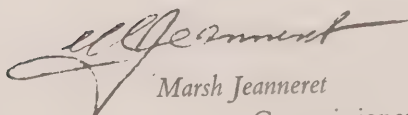
Thanks to a number of such persons, this volume has been produced. We hope that its publication, which is intended to complement but certainly not to presage our final report, will prove to be an important event in the Canadian book world. For the first time Canadians have a substantial published description, between one set of covers, of how their books reach them, and of the practices, problems, policies, and potentials that are involved.



Richard Rohmer  
Commissioner



Dalton Camp  
Commissioner



Marsh Jeanneret  
Commissioner



# *The Development of Trade Book Publishing in Canada*

H. PEARSON GUNDY

In *What Happens in Book Publishing*, Chandler B. Grannis broadly defines trade book publishing as “the issuing of books for general retail bookstore sale.” This includes adult fiction and nonfiction, “most juveniles, many religious books . . . some technical and scholarly books, and some lines of paperbacks.”<sup>1</sup> But, quite clearly, the list is suggestive rather than definitive. It is easier to indicate what books are *not* trade books than to specify those that are.

Excluded are government documents, textbooks whether for school or college, medical, legal, theological and other technical or scholarly works written for the specialist rather than for the layman, and, at the other end of the scale, cheap paperbacks distributed through news agencies and sold in drugstores, variety shops, and supermarkets. Other non-trade books are bibles, prayer-books, hymnals and service books for use in churches, and reference works such as dictionaries, gazetteers, atlases, and encyclopaedias.

This still leaves many borderline books which might be classed either as specialized publications or as trade books. A scholarly biography, for example, may also have a wide popular appeal, and occasionally a university press book may make the best-seller lists. But if the definition of trade book must remain fairly elastic, the publisher has no difficulty deciding whether a given book is for “the trade” (meaning the bookselling trade) or for the specialist.

## ORIGINS OF THE BOOK TRADE IN CANADA

During the first half century of printing in what is now Canada, there was no organized book trade, and what could be called “trade books” were few and far between. Printers had to act as editors, publishers, booksellers, and distributors.

<sup>1</sup>See Notes on page 36.

The first printing establishment in the country was started in 1751-2 in Halifax by Bartholomew Green and John Bushell. Weekly newspapers then were the staple publication of all pioneer presses, often supplemented by government printing awarded by contract. William Brown and Thomas Gilmore, who set up the first press in Quebec in 1764, did most of their printing for the government. But they also published, in addition to the *Quebec Gazette*, a few pamphlets and books of general interest – the closest we can come to “trade books” in this period. These included a long poem, *Abram’s Plains* by Thomas Cary, issued by subscription, and one or two later volumes of verse, some sermons, reports of public trials and executions, one or two medical tracts for the common reader, a few religious books; and a narrative of travel and shipwreck.

Fleury Mesplet, who brought the printing press to Montreal in 1776, first specialized in religious and devotional works for the Roman Catholic Church before issuing a weekly *Gazette*. But in Upper Canada, Louis Roy, appointed King’s Printer in Newark (Niagara-on-the-Lake) in 1793, confined his output to the official *Gazette* and other government publications.

There were very few bookstores in Canada before 1800, and none that succeeded in becoming firmly established. One of the earliest was a branch shop set up in Halifax by James Rivington, a London bookseller who had moved to Philadelphia. In the *Halifax Gazette*, 14 May 1761, he advertised “a large and curious collection of books in history, divinity, law, physick, mathematics, classics, architecture, navigation; a variety of the best novels and books of entertainment . . . books of piety, Bibles, Hymnbooks.” A book stock such as this was appropriate for Philadelphia, but scarcely for a pioneer town like Halifax, then only twelve years from its founding. Within a few months the shop had to close for lack of patronage.

When Robert Fletcher came to Halifax in 1766 as King’s Printer, he, too, tried his hand at running a bookstore, but like Rivington’s venture, his failed for lack of support. Fletcher resigned his government contract, became a general merchant, and after a few years returned to England.

In 1808 the English traveller, John Lambert, reported after three years’ sojourn in Canada, that “the printing offices at Quebec and Montreal are the only bookstores in the country, and these collections consist chiefly of school books and a few old histories.”<sup>2</sup> Unknown to Lambert, or unnoticed by him, was the establishment of Thomas Cary, the erstwhile author of *Abram’s Plains*, who founded the *Quebec Mercury* in 1805, and ran the only good bookshop and circulating library in the city. From the press of his newspaper he published a regular flow of pamphlet literature. After his death, his son, Thomas Jr., published some full-length books.

In Upper Canada, Kingston was the most active centre of publishing and book-selling from the establishment of the *Kingston Gazette* in 1810 to about 1830. Stephen Miles, printer, ran a small bookstore and lending library, including in his

stock a number of pamphlets which he himself published – among them a sermon of Dr. John Strachan, the *Life and Dying Speech of Joseph Bevir*, a convicted murderer hanged at Kingston, and *An Essay on Modern Reformers* by John Simpson. He also offered “a variety of small tracts, useful and entertaining for children.”

Miles’s earliest competitor, Hugh C. Thomson, founder in 1819 of the *Kingston Herald*, was even more energetic in the publishing field. He issued two early volumes of verse, and, in 1824, a two-volume novel, *St. Ursula’s Convent, or The Nun of Canada*, the first piece of fiction by a native Canadian, Julia Beckwith Hart, wife of a Kingston bookbinder. The book, which appeared anonymously, is now a highly prized collector’s item. Thomson also published in 1828 his own book, *A Manual of Parliamentary Practice*, the fruit of his experience as a member of the Legislative Assembly, and for many years the standard work on the subject.

In Montreal, Nahum Mower, proprietor of the *Canadian Courant*, published some early books and pamphlets, although few of them could be classed as “trade books.” The same was true of other newspaper publishers in Quebec during the first quarter of the last century.

It was left to Joseph Howe in Halifax to discover the first major literary talent in British North America and to promote him in the pages of the *Novascotian*. This was Thomas Chandler Haliburton, the creator of Sam Slick.

Howe brought out Haliburton’s first book, a sober survey of his native province in two volumes entitled *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia*, in 1829. On this the publisher lost money. He persuaded Haliburton, however, to contribute a weekly sketch to “The Club,” a regular feature of the *Novascotian*. Thus began “the sayings and doings” of Sam Slick, a Yankee clock pedlar, a series continued in twenty-two instalments in 1835–6. The author, who remained anonymous, announced on 11 February 1836 that he would discontinue the series as Mr. Howe wanted to publish all the sketches in book form. “So flattering a request,” he wrote, “I could not decline; and I have therefore placed at his disposal the remaining part of the series (eleven instalments), that the whole may be included in one volume.”

Howe brought out the first Sam Slick series under the title, *The Clockmaker*, toward the end of 1836. It sold rapidly and was followed by a second printing in 1837. Meanwhile a British army officer stationed in Halifax took a copy with him to London. There he showed it to Richard Bentley, a prominent publisher, who was so taken with the book that he published, without any authorization from Howe or Haliburton, an English edition. Howe then arranged to have an American edition published by Carey Lea & Blanchard of Philadelphia, and there were soon editions in both French and German.

*The Clockmaker* thus became the first trade book published in Canada to achieve international recognition. It won unstinted praise in *Blackwood’s Magazine*, and before the second series appeared in 1838, it had gone through several printings in



London and Philadelphia. A third series, published in 1840, was almost equally successful.

When Haliburton questioned Howe's financial dealings, the publisher wrote him a long letter, dated 2 January 1841, accounting for his profits and losses. On the *Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia*, Howe said, Haliburton made several hundred pounds and a reputation which led to his appointment to the Bench, whereas Howe himself lost £800. He netted £35 on *The Clockmaker*, a book that brought the author "the means of earning thousands." On the second series Howe did considerably better, but he felt less sanguine about the third series. All told, he estimated that he would make between £250 and £280 – "rather poor compensation, I should say," he concluded, "for all the time, trouble, conversation and correspondence . . ."<sup>3</sup> All Haliburton's later books were published in England and the United States. He remained on good terms with Howe, despite their occasional sharp words and differences of opinion. But, as proprietor of the *Novascotian* and rising politician Howe had neither the staff nor the resources to publish and distribute an international best-seller.

#### EARLY OBSTACLES TO TRADE BOOK PUBLISHING

The early development of Canadian trade book publishing was hampered by a number of factors – the size of the country compared with the sparseness of the population, the proximity of the United States, the colonial tie with the United Kingdom, the anomalies of Imperial Copyright which offered Canadian authors little protection if they published at home, readers' predilections for cheap American reprints, and, finally, the promoting of agency books to the neglect of original publishing.

British North America was a vast territory with only a fringe of population close to the U.S. border. Before railways, the Atlantic provinces were cut off, save by water routes, from Quebec and Upper Canada, and the small western settlements could be conveniently reached only by way of the United States. The facts of geography thus fostered a north-south, rather than an east-west, axis.

The Maritimes had closer cultural and economic ties with New England than with the Canadas. Maritime bookstores were supplied from Boston (and London), not from Montreal and Toronto. Haliburton had no immediate successors, but later novelists such as James de Mille in Nova Scotia and Agnes May Fleming in New Brunswick, both very popular, had all their books published in the United States. This was not only because it was natural for them to look to Boston, Philadelphia, and New York rather than to Montreal and Toronto as publishing centres, but also because they could obtain much better terms across the border. As a Canadian speaker said in 1875: "A Colonial publisher knows his own interest too well to give anything worth while for a manuscript which, if he publish it, will be likely

not to meet with sale enough to cover cost of printing. . . . A Canadian book is sure, with the stigma of a colonial imprimatur upon it, not to circulate beyond the confines of the Dominion; and, therefore, when a Canadian writes a meritorious book . . . he seeks a publisher abroad."<sup>4</sup>

As there was little or no literary activity in the Northwest before 1885, Canadian trade book publishing was confined to Ontario and to Quebec, where the large French-speaking population was of course lost to English-language publishers. With the westward spread of the English-speaking population, it was inevitable that the centre of English publishing would gravitate from Montreal to Toronto, though the former held its ascendancy up to mid-century. The census of 1851 provides the following comparative figures:

	Canada East	Canada West
Population	890,261	952,004
Number of printers	400	500
Editors and booksellers	76	83
Printers who are also publishers (Montreal and Toronto)	5	8
Bookbinders (Montreal and Toronto)	40	51

Canadian bookstores then, as now, had to keep in stock English and American authors whose works were in greater public demand than the native product. The typical English three-volume novel published in boards was expensive to import and with mark-up was beyond the reach of the common reader. But Canadian publishers, however willing they were to issue cheap reprints of such novels, were restrained from doing so by the Imperial Copyright Act of 1842. American reprints, however, flooded the market, to the content of readers and the active discontent of Canadian printers and publishers. It was not until the 1870s that Canadian publishers took retaliatory action by issuing cheap, unauthorized reprints of popular American authors, which they then sold by mail order to American readers. During the last two decades of the century the trade in foreign authors was at length regularized and Canadian houses became authorized, exclusive agents for British and American publishers. But as agency publishing became firmly entrenched, original Canadian publishing suffered a decline.

#### THE PATTERN OF THE BOOK TRADE

An article on the American book trade, published in the *American Encyclopedia of Commerce, Manufactures, Commercial Law and Finance* (Boston, 1880), is directly applicable, albeit on a smaller scale, to the way in which bookselling and publishing was organized at the time in Canada:

The American booktrade is divided into three classes – publishers, jobbers, and retailers. The book trade proper numbers probably not more than 3,000 stores, but there are perhaps 10,000 which sell books and periodicals in connection with other lines of trade. Of these about 800 are publishers, to

the extent of an occasional book, though nine-tenths of the trade is done by less than 50 publishers . . . The jobber is the middleman who orders large supplies, often by the thousand copies, from the publishers and distributes them among the retailers throughout the country. He differs from the European commissioner in buying the stock and making what profit he can, instead of filling orders on commission.

To this may be added the statement of a recent historian of literary publishing in the United States, William Charvat, who wrote of American book publishers in the earlier part of the century:

Almost all publishers were retailers; many printers were also publishers and sometimes also retailers; all jobbers were retailers . . . The result was a system of distribution so complicated that the publishers were almost as confused as the historian who tries to read their surviving records and correspondence.<sup>5</sup>

Of some forty volumes of verse published in Canada before mid-century, about half, almost a score, were issued by bookstore publishers, half a dozen were printed "for the author" (at his own expense), and the rest were produced by job printers or newspaper offices. In some cases the publisher may have assumed the financial risk involved, though the usual practice in publishing verse (and prose fiction, too) was to place the burden on the author to secure enough advance subscriptions for the book to cover the cost of printing. As in the United States, many Canadian bookstores were publishers "to the extent of an occasional book." Others, however, made publishing a regular part of their operation – booksellers such as Cunningham, Starke, Gray, Armour & Ramsay in Montreal, during the first part of the century; Henry Rowsell, Lesslie Brothers, Hugh Scobie, and others in Toronto.

That some early publishers were willing to assume financial risks is well attested. Robert Christie, for example, wrote in the preface to the penultimate volume of his six-volume *History of the Late Province of Lower Canada* (Quebec and Montreal, 1848-56):

I must not forget to acknowledge the obligation under which I am to my friends and publishers: in the first place to Mr. Thomas Cary for the impression of the first three volumes, and in the next to Mr. John Lovell . . . it is entirely to the public spirit of these gentlemen that I owe the impression of the work which I should not, indeed could not, have undertaken at my own expense, and which at no inconsiderable risk to themselves they generously assumed.

This was no doubt exceptional, as, indeed, was the publication in Canada of any six-volume work at the time, and it seems very doubtful whether it could have been financially successful for either author or publishers. Certainly the more common method of trade book publishing was by means of the subscription list.

Among the Neilson Papers in the Public Archives of Canada is a letter of one I. B. Boucher, who, with the encouragement of his bishop, had compiled an anthology of inspirational religious extracts. To Neilson's partner, William Cown, he wrote, 7 May 1817:

I wish you should not be the loser by printing it, and before you publish it, both you and Mr. Neilson



will consider if there be a prospect of a sufficient number of buyers. The extracts are *attractive* but the readers who are *attractable* are not very numerous.

Evidently, Messrs. Neilson & Cowan decided that, even with the bishop's blessing, this was a poor financial risk, for I can find no evidence that the book was ever published.

Newspapers frequently advertised projected subscription volumes. In the *Canadian Courant*, for example, we find under the date of 6 May 1828 a notice by W. F. Hawley that he intended to publish a collection of his poems under the title, *Quebec, the Harp and Other Poems*:

The work will contain 130 pages, printed in the best manner on fine paper with two elegant Engravings, and will be delivered to subscribers in boards. Price five shillings. No delay will (positively) take place, after a sufficient number shall be obtained to pay the expense of publication. Subscriptions received at the bookstores of Messrs. Cunningham, Bowman and Hoisington.

In the same issue Nahum Mower, the editor of the paper, called attention on his editorial page to Hawley's advertisement, commended the author as "already favourably known to the public as a poet," and wished him success in his undertaking. The volume duly appeared later in the year, a duodecimo of 180 pages, fifty more than the author originally promised.

Publishing by subscription was often hazardous and disappointing, however. Even a writer with an established reputation could sometimes fail to secure the required number of advance orders. Major John Richardson found this out in 1838 when he projected a revised Canadian edition of his celebrated novel, *Wacousta*. It had been first published in London and Edinburgh in 1832 and later the same year in Philadelphia; there had also been several reprintings, but no Canadian edition. Richardson felt sure that his fellow-countrymen would respond to his announcement as he was the first Canadian to write an historical romance, a fact which he was at pains to point out:

In bringing before the attention of the Canadian public the fact of his being the first and only writer of historical fiction the country has yet produced, the writer feels that he is stating that which will give an interest to the publication wholly abstract from any which may arise from the tale itself. . .

To this advertisement, which first appeared in May 1838, he appended the names of sixteen printers and booksellers from Montreal to Detroit who were willing to take subscriptions. But although the advertisement continued to appear in the provincial press for several months, the response did not justify publication. No Canadian edition appeared until John Lovell's in 1868, sixteen years after Richardson's death. The explanation may be that the English and American editions had already glutted the market. Two new books by Richardson, his *Personal Memoirs* and *The Canadian Brothers*, a sequel to *Wacousta*, were, however, published in subscription editions by Armour & Ramsay in 1838 and 1840 respectively.

Richardson grew so dissatisfied with the bothersome process of commercial publishing that he decided to become his own publisher, and set up a printing press in

Brockville. There he issued a weekly newspaper, *The New Era*, in which he published two books serially, *Jack Brag in Spain* (for which he had been unable to find a publisher in London) and his personal account of the *War of 1812*. With a small government grant and a recommendation that the work be used in schools, Richardson issued the latter in book form from the newspaper type. A very shoddy-looking book indeed, it sold only thirty copies. Richardson could not even auction off the remainder, as he recounted in *Eight Years in Canada*:

I found that on . . . sending them to auction rooms of the then capital of Canada (Kingston), not a single bidder was to be found . . . But I must correct myself: one copy was sold and for not less a sum than sevenpence halfpenny currency, the liberal purchaser thereby redeeming his countrymen from the charge of utter neglect of literature, when left to their own option of acceptance or rejection.

The book from which this quotation is taken was published in 1847 by H. H. Cunningham of Montreal, who also brought out in the following year Major Richardson's *The Guards in Canada*. Shortly after this, Richardson moved to New York where he published four more novels before his death in 1852.

More successful than Richardson as his own publisher was another Brockville resident, John Mercier McMullen (1820-1907), a printer and bookseller. Having had some journalistic experience, he decided to compile from secondary sources a general *History of Canada from its First Discovery to the Present Day* in order to infuse "a spirit of nationality into the people generally." The first edition, an octavo volume of 506 pages, appeared in 1855. It was well received and sold enough copies eventually to prompt a second enlarged edition in 1868. This time McMullen had it printed by Ballantyne & Company of Edinburgh. The book enjoyed a steady sale for over two decades. Finally, in 1892, the author brought out a third edition in two volumes, again from the house of Ballantyne.

#### THE PUBLISHING HOUSE OF JOHN LOVELL & SON

Unique among Canadian publishers of the nineteenth century, John Lovell of Montreal began his business career not as a newspaper owner or as a retail bookseller but as a job printer. He had come to Canada from County Cork, Ireland, with his parents in 1820 at the age of ten, at fourteen had been apprenticed to a Montreal printer, and twelve years later opened his own establishment. One of his early contracts was to print the *Montreal Transcript*, 1836-7. In 1838 he inaugurated the *Literary Garland*, the first successful literary journal in Canada and the first to pay its contributors. It ran until 1852. He established a Toronto branch, Lovell & Gibson, in 1850 when the firm secured a large government printing contract; in evidence before the Standing Committee on Printing of the Province of Canada in June 1851, Lovell said that he employed forty-one printers and assistants, not including apprentices, in this Toronto printing house, and more than thirty in Montreal. He was



also heavily engaged in the printing of school books, Canadian gazetteers, and a whole series of city, county, provincial, and finally national directories.

In addition to publishing these special lines, Lovell was for many years the foremost trade book publisher in Canada. It was no doubt because of the profits he made in the specialized departments of his publishing house that he was able to bring out a long list of novels, books of verse, popular religious works, books of travel, biographies, histories, and one or two song books with music.

He was the first Canadian publisher to commission fiction – two short novels by Ebenezer Clemo (published under the penname Maple Knot), *The Life and Adventures of Simon Seek*, and *Canadian Homes*, or *The Mystery Solved*, both published in 1858. Clemo, a poverty-stricken inventor, used the money he earned to set up a factory in New Jersey for making pulp paper out of straw, a process which was never tested, however, as the inventor died before the plant was finished.

Most of Lovell's novelists were better literary craftsmen than Clemo, although their numerous books have almost all fallen into oblivion. Head and shoulders above all the rest was William Kirby, author of *The Golden Dog* (*Le Chien d'Or*) a legend of Quebec, which is still in print and in demand. Mrs. Leprohon receives passing mention in histories of Canadian literature for her best novel, *Antoinette de Mirecourt* (1864). But who now reads the novels of H. S. Caswell, G. B. Chapin, H. F. Darnell, Frank Johnson, A. L. Spedon, J. A. Phillips, or the poems of Augusta Baldwin, Mrs. J. P. Grant, Henry Patterson, or Kate Douglas Ramage?

Lovell published in both English and French, and among his French imprints were the widely-read Canadian histories of Michel Bibaud (1843) and F. X. Garneau (1852), a four-volume collection of French-Canadian verse and prose (*Le Répertoire National*) edited by James Huston, and three historical tales by Emile Chevalier.

In 1868 Lovell greatly enlarged his Montreal plant, as described in a full-page advertisement in the *Montreal Directory* for 1868-9:

... The Compositors' Rooms are well stocked with a large variety of Plain and Fancy Types, embracing the newest designs. The Establishment is furnished with twelve Steam Printing Presses, nine Steam Smashing, Sawing, Cutting, Stamping and Hoisting Machines, six Hydraulic and Hand Presses, together with Ruling, Backing and Paging Machines . . . which enables him to turn out large quantities of work at very short notice. 175 persons are employed in this Establishment.

A decade later, Lovell moved his printing plant across the border to Rouse's Point, New York, in order to escape the penalties imposed under Imperial Copyright upon colonial publishers who reprinted British authors. It was a clever stratagem, but in making the move Lovell overextended his resources and before the end of 1878 the New York State operation was forced into receivership. William Kirby was one of the chief losers, for in the confusion over the bankruptcy Lovell failed to register *The Golden Dog* for U.S. copyright and the author lost control over the novel, which was then reprinted in abridged form without his consent.

The Lovell firm, under two of the founder's sons, got back on its feet in the

United States and in the 1880s did a landslide business in a cheap, paper reprint series, "Lovell's Library," volumes selling at ten to twenty cents each. At the time, this was the favourite form of railway reading material. The Lovell advertisement in the Montreal *Directory* for 1885 stated that "The Publishers of 'Lovell's Library' [have] decided to devote their exclusive attention to the interests of that series . . . It is contemplated to include besides the best current fiction, which will be reissued promptly, all the leading Standard Works . . . in Art, Science, and in Belles Lettres." Authors represented by twenty or more volumes in the series included William Black, Thomas Carlyle, Fenimore Cooper, Charles Dickens, Washington Irving, Lord Lytton, Sir Walter Scott, and William Makepeace Thackeray. By 1893, the year John Lovell died, "Lovell's Library" had reached the surprising total of close to 1,500 titles.

These throw-away books would not now be counted as legitimate trade books, but during their vogue they sold in all the bookstores as well as the railway trains. Publishers vied with one another in producing these cheap "library" series, more often than not confined to the popular novels of the day, printed in two columns on pulp paper, and bound in garish paper wrappers. The price varied from ten to seventy-five cents or one dollar. A writer in *Belford's Monthly Magazine*, April 1878, described this latest literary fad:

The railway train . . . is wholly theirs . . . They radiate, bright in yellow and vivid in red and blue, from the bookstores, and are 'dealt' like cards, right and left, into the laps of travellers . . . The more railways and the more passengers, the heavier this downfall of paper-covered novels, and the more over-shadowing the empire of romance.<sup>6</sup>

Goldwin Smith's attitude to the cheap reprint was ambivalent. On the one hand he saw the extension of cheap printing as a "literary revolution" which promised to be "second in importance only to the invention of printing itself." "Almost every book," he wrote in the *Bystander*, January 1883, "whether light or solid, whether recently published or of a standard character, for which an ordinary reader would be at all likely to ask, is now placed within his reach at a trifling price." On the other hand he recognized that the cheap reprint and the lack of adequate copyright laws were a menace to the traditional book trade and to Canadian authorship. He remarked on this negative aspect of the "literary revolution" in the October 1883 issue of the same journal following the announcement that G. Mercer Adam, Canadian journalist and publisher, of the late firm of Adam, Stevenson & Company, was going to the United States to join the Lovell brothers in their New York enterprise.

The *Bystander* mourns the departure of Mr. G. Mercer Adam, who, after giving the best years of his life to the service of literature and the high-class book trade in Canada, has, like other men whom we could ill spare, accepted an invitation to New York where he joins Mr. Lovell, the enterprising publisher, who is also an exile from Canada. We cannot wonder at these secessions. How is literature, how is the high-class book trade to flourish here, under the present conditions? A Canadian writer

can have no copyright of any value on his own Continent, while, in his case, copyright in England is a name. The Canadian book trade is cut off from its natural centres of distribution, to which it cannot resort without paying double duty. At the same time both writer and trade are exposed to the overwhelming influx of American reprints from English works, with which the Imperial Copyright forbids the colony to compete. The literary calling in this country if it exists at all must exist almost apart from any hope of remuneration.

#### GEORGE MACLEAN ROSE AND THE BELFORD BROTHERS

Among Toronto publishers, the closest counterpart to John Lovell of Montreal was George Maclean Rose, president of Hunter, Rose & Company and of the Rose-Belford Publishing Company.

Like Lovell, Rose was an immigrant, but from Scotland, not Ireland. Having served an apprenticeship in the office of *John O'Groat's Journal* in London, he came to Montreal at the age of twenty-one and joined the staff of J. C. Becket, who ran a printing office and published the *Canadian Temperance Advocate* and the *Montreal Witness*. It was there that he became immersed in the temperance cause, a lifetime avocation; he later edited and published in 1877 *Light for the Temperance Platform: A Collection of Readings, Recitations and Prologues*.

From 1854 to 1856 he operated a book and job printing office in Montreal with his brother, Henry, but then dissolved the partnership and spent the next two years practising journalism, first in Merrickville and then in London, Ontario, where he was city editor on the London *Prototype*. In 1857 he moved to Toronto to manage the printing office of Samuel Thompson, publisher of the *Colonist*, an organ of the Conservative party. When his employer obtained a five-year government printing contract in Quebec City, Rose went there with the bookkeeper, Robert Hunter. In the course of their first year in Quebec, a joint parliamentary committee on printing arbitrarily reduced Thompson's contract by one-third, an action which precipitated insolvency. At the bailiff's sale that followed, Rose and Hunter, with one or two other employees, bought the printing equipment at bargain prices, established the new firm of Hunter, Rose & Company, and finished out the Thompson contract.

They then went to Ottawa as government printers for five years before transferring their establishment to Toronto where, in 1871, they branched out into trade publishing. The mainstay of their business was reprinting in cheap editions contemporary British writers, whom they recompensed at a rate slightly above the 12½ per cent duty such authors received from Customs when American reprints of their works were imported into Canada. In the words of G. M. Rose, "The undertaking while enabling the publishers to do an intellectual service to the reading community of the country, and to honorably recompense the English authors whose books were reproduced, was very helpful in stimulating the nascent printing and publishing industries of Canada."<sup>7</sup>



It was definitely not helpful, however, to the importers of British books who now had to contend not only with American pirated reprints but also with the inexpensive reprints of the "Rose Library" series. The rival house of Adam, Stevenson and Company had recently announced in the *Canadian Bookseller* (a trade journal which they issued under the editorship of G. Mercer Adam) that, after extensive negotiations in England, they now represented "every important British Publishing House . . . the more important of whose publications will be found in their Trade Catalogue, and represented in their warehouses." Four years later this highly reputable firm went bankrupt, a victim of the reprint competition and the economic depression of 1876.

George Maclean Rose may have believed in compensating British authors (he had no choice in this respect) but he did not feel the same compunction about American authors and publishers. American reprints cut heavily into his trade and he lost no opportunity to protest against the inequities of Imperial Copyright. "I have come to the conclusion," he later said in 1884, "that it is almost useless to attempt building up a large and profitable publishing trade unless our government takes the matter of copyright in hand."

But in 1871, the very year in which Rose had started his reprint business, a young contemporary, Alexander Belford, had a brighter idea: he would turn the tables on American publishers by pirating *their* authors in cheap Canadian reprints. He was then working as a printer for John Ross Robertson's Telegraph Publishing Company in Toronto, and with his employer's connivance printed a large, unauthorized edition of Mark Twain's best-selling *Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County*. This he then disposed of to three or four bookseller-publishers, supplying separate title pages to each of them with their own imprints.<sup>8</sup> The book ran to almost four hundred pages and sold at \$1.00 in paper covers, or \$1.50 in cloth.

Belford followed up this coup by a similar pirated edition of the *Innocents Abroad*, and, even more daringly, by "lifting" the sketches Mark Twain was contributing in instalments to the New York journal, *Galaxy*, and scooping the market by being the first publisher to issue them in book form under the title, *Mark Twain's Memoranda from the Galaxy*. In the spring of 1872 young Belford left Toronto, however, and the pirating operation ceased until his return four years later.

Hunter, Rose & Company continued to reprint English fiction, but made no move to imitate Belford. Rose must, however, have watched with close interest the formation of the new firm of Belford Brothers in 1876. The purpose of this house was to exploit the reprint market, not only in Canada, but, through mail order sales, in the United States. The name of Charles Belford, eldest of the three brothers and editor of the *Toronto Mail*, lent respectability to the enterprise, but Alexander and Robert were the more active partners.

It seemed to them, as it may have seemed to Rose, that the times were opportune. Whereas the Canadian copyright acts of 1868 and 1872 had been disallowed because

they contravened certain sections of the Imperial Copyright Act of 1842, a newly drafted Canadian law in 1875 was finally given royal assent. What it aimed to do was to make it more difficult for American publishers to claim protection in Canada under the Imperial act. Heretofore they had merely sent advance copies of their books to London for first publication while, at the same time, the authors of the books crossed the border to be "resident" in Canada. The Copyright Act of 1875 made it mandatory for the authors to be "domiciled" in Canada and to have their books manufactured in the Dominion.

The law hadn't yet been tested, but the Belford brothers considered any American book which failed to conform to the new law fair game for reprinting. They also tried it out on an English best-seller, but were promptly sued for infringement of copyright and were forced to cease and desist.

The American reaction to the latest round of Belford book pirating was immediate and unmistakable. Mark Twain wrote to his London agent, 2 November 1876:

Belford Bros., Canadian thieves, are flooding America with a cheap pirated edition of Tom Sawyer. I have just telegraphed Chatto to assign Canadian copyright to me, but I suppose it is too late to do any good. We cannot issue for 6 weeks yet, and by that time Belford will have sold 100,000 over the frontier and killed my book dead. This piracy will cost me \$10,000, and I will spend as much more to choke off those pirates if the thing can be done.<sup>9</sup>

The *New York Sun* was up in arms, and blasted the Toronto publishers, under the heading, THE CANADIAN INVASION, in an article later reprinted in *Publishers' Weekly*:

Certain Toronto publishers have lately struck out on a new line of enterprise which seriously exercises the American book maker. They have seized upon the newest American copyrighted books by popular authors, reproduced them in the cheapest possible form, and advertised in American newspapers to send them through the mail, post paid, to American readers, for from one fifth to one tenth of the price charged for them by the American publisher. It is neither legal nor practical to exercise close espionage over the mail, and therefore these are difficult to stop.

A Canadian publication sold here for 15¢ costs the publisher but 3¢ for transmission through the mail, leaving a net return of 12¢ which is 2¢ more than the average cheapest American publication. Quotes G. W. Carleton: "But now these Canada devils go to work to take our American books and reprint them from one tenth of our prices, and sell them not only in Canada . . . but in our own country to our own customers . . . It is a gross outrage. We can stop the book-seller here from vending these things, but it seems we can not prevent this Canadian fellow getting money by mail from American citizens and sending them his reprints of our books for it."<sup>10</sup>

It must not be supposed that Belford Brothers aimed their shafts chiefly at Mark Twain, although they continued to pirate his books – which sold in the United States only by subscription in expensive editions. Their general list was remarkably varied, including Canadian and English books in authorized editions, as well as the American reprints. For 1877–8, for example, they advertised, among other works, an English translation by Andrew Bell of F. X. Garneau's *History of Canada*, a revised and enlarged edition of *Ocean to Ocean* by Reverend G. M. Grant, *The Home*



*Cook Book* by Toronto Ladies (proceeds to go to the Sick Children's Hospital), *Madcap Violet* by William Black, *The Starling* by Norman Macleod, three novels by Ouida, *Forbidden Fruit*, translated from the German by Rosalie Kaufman, *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay* (two volumes) by George Otto Trevelyan, *The Cruise of H.M.S. Challenger* by W. J. Spry, and the following American reprints (the first two by Canadian authors): *Kate Danton* by May Agnes Fleming, *The Bastonnais* by John Talon Lesperance, *A Chance Acquaintance* and *Their Wedding Journey* by W. D. Howells, *Old Time on the Mississippi* and *An Idle Excursion* by Mark Twain, *Footsteps of the Master* by Harriet Beecher Stowe, and *Ramsford's Sermons* and *Bible Readings*.

G. M. Rose must have looked at this list with some envy; it was certainly a more profitable one than his own. He had other worries as well, for in 1877 his partner, Robert Hunter, died, and he took into the firm Daniel Rose, his younger brother, a willing worker but one who lacked Hunter's accounting experience.

In 1878 Belford Brothers split up. Charles, who had suffered a physical breakdown from overwork, withdrew from the publishing house. Alexander went to Chicago with James Clarke, who ran the Belfords' subscription agency, to start a publishing house there. Robert persuaded G. M. Rose to join forces with him in a newly incorporated firm to be known as the Rose, Belford Publishing Company, with Rose as president and Robert as general manager.

Meanwhile Mark Twain, on the best legal advice he could obtain, thought that he had solved the problem of securing copyright in Canada by appointing Dawson Brothers of Montreal, a firm of bookstore publishers, his authorized Canadian publisher. Dawson brought out *The Prince and the Pauper* in 1881, but when the author applied to the Department of Agriculture for copyright, his application was refused on the ground that he was not domiciled in Canada. Immediately Rose-Belford had the book reprinted in Detroit and imported it by paying 12½ per cent duty and 15½ per cent tax – a perfectly legal operation. To make it quite clear to all and sundry what they were doing, they wrote a self-justifying preface to the book, doubtless the work of George Maclean Rose:

The Importers of this cheap edition of Mark Twain's latest production do not disguise their motive in placing it on the Canadian market. Their object . . . is to show by its importation, and sale in Canada, as a foreign reprint of a work which has secured British copyright, how anomalous is the present law of Literature in the Colonies, and how injuriously, and in an especial degree, this affects Canadian printing and publishing industries . . . To extend an American author protection in Canada as the result of British Copyright legislation, while the Dominion is a slaughter house for American piracies of English copyrights, seems the act of unwisdom . . . The action we have now taken, however, nullifies in great measure the benefit which Imperial copyright affords the author in Canada; and this course we feel that we are justified in adopting, so long as the United States government refuse to accord to British or Colonial authors reciprocal legislation, and while American publishers are free to flood Canadian markets with reprints of English books which native printers and publishers are restrained from themselves producing.<sup>11</sup>

All told, some forty different printings of Canadian editions of Mark Twain appeared under sixteen separate imprints; and Twain was only one of many American authors whose works were pirated in cheap Canadian reprints.

There can be little doubt that by resorting to piracy, Canadian publishers brought pressure to bear upon American publishers to work out a copyright agreement with Great Britain. The United States would not join with Britain in signing the Berne Convention, establishing international copyright in 1887, but Congress did pass the Chace Act in 1891 as a reciprocal agreement between the two countries. This fell far short of the more radical proposals put forward by the Canadian Copyright Association which advocated a new Canadian law. This was not legally feasible until 1911 when the old Imperial act of 1842 was repealed and Canada was allowed to legislate in her own interests. But meanwhile the Chace Act effectively eliminated book piracy in Canada and the heyday of the cheap, throw-away book came to an end.

#### BOOKSELLER TO PRINTER TO PUBLISHER TO JOBBER

A major problem in attempting to trace the development of trade book publishing in the second half of the nineteenth century is the almost total lack of publishing house records. None of the early publishers, not even the Methodist Church, systematically retained their business archives. The firms moved frequently and seem to have done a thorough housecleaning job with every move in order to avoid having to find storage space for out-of-date records. One must therefore fall back on a wide variety of miscellaneous sources – newspapers, periodicals, trade journals, publishers' and booksellers' catalogues, government reports, city directories and histories, biographical and bibliographical compilations, Board of Trade reports, pamphlets, and other ephemera.

From a welter of facts and figures, one can piece together a fairly accurate picture of how the book trade developed from mid-century. The general evolution of a publishing house was from retail bookseller and stationer, to job printer, to newspaper and/or government printer (by contract), to school book publisher, to trade book publisher. Up to this point, the retail bookselling normally ran parallel with the printing and publishing end of the business. But as bookstores proliferated, not only in Montreal and Toronto but in smaller cities and towns as well, publishers turned away from retail bookselling to the wholesale trade which required more working capital but also offered larger returns.

A number of examples can be cited to illustrate this general pattern. Hugh Scobie's bookstore is a good starting place as it gave rise to several publishing firms. An energetic Scotsman, Scobie set up a book and stationery store on King Street, Toronto, in 1841. Within a year or two he expanded his business and advertised himself as "Bookseller and Stationer, Printer, Bookbinder, Lithographer, Copper-

plate and Wood Engraver, etc.” He published a weekly, the *British Colonist*, an annual almanac, various municipal publications and church reports, but very few trade books apart from one or two volumes of verse. After Scobie’s death in 1853 his business passed to Samuel Thompson who continued the publishing end but sold the retail bookstore to Thomas Maclear. Maclear, who was also more interested in publishing than in retail bookselling, took a partner, W. C. Chewett, to run the old Scobie store while he established a wholesale business. Both partners published books under their respective imprints from the same address.

A contemporary and close competitor was the firm of James Campbell & Son, established in Toronto as booksellers and stationers in the late 1850s. They soon closed their retail outlet to become publishers and wholesale dealers. In reviewing the year 1860, the commercial reporter for the *Globe* stated:

Mr. James Campbell is not only exclusively engaged in the finer descriptions of English stationery . . . but is also . . . the only person in Canada who carries on an exclusively wholesale trade in books . . . Mr. Campbell now not only extends his business throughout Canada, but sells and sends quantities of goods to Prince Edward Island and the other lower provinces.

The business included an active publishing branch which brought out a good many trade books – biographies, religious works, travel books, and others of general interest. The firm folded in 1884.

Graeme Mercer Adam, whom Goldwin Smith admired for his contribution to the “high-class book trade,” began business as a bookseller and stationer on King Street, Toronto, in 1862, and, having taken into partnership James Rollo, advertised as “booksellers, stationers and publishers” in 1866. Rollo soon dropped out and was replaced by John H. Stevenson. The *Toronto Directory* for 1870 listed the partners as “Booksellers to the profession, book importers in law, theology, medicine, education, and general literature” and by 1873 as publishers of the *Canadian Bookseller* and *Canadian Monthly*. The next year they were described as “the great publishing house of Adam, Stevenson & Co., a monument of the reading and literary ability of the Dominion.” But two years later they were bankrupt, victims of the depression of 1876.

Adam Miller, of A. & R. Miller, booksellers and stationers in Montreal, established a Toronto branch in 1860, and before the end of the decade dissolved the partnership with his brother to become a wholesale bookseller, school book publisher, importer, and wholesale dealer in stationery and fancy goods. William J. Gage, who joined the Miller firm in 1874, became his partner four years later, and his successor in 1880.

Henry J. Clark, and Walter and Henry Copp were for several years employed by Maclear & Chewett, and when Chewett retired from business in 1869 they took over the bookstore he had run (originally Scobie’s) and his periodical agency. They then established a printing and lithographing plant, published school books and a



few trade books, and went into the wholesale trade, specializing in stationery. In 1874 they sold their retail bookstore to Hart, Rawlinson & Company, and their subscription agency to A. S. Irving, who formed the Toronto News Company and became a book publisher and wholesale dealer with branches in Montreal and in London, England.

Other examples could be added, but these are perhaps enough to illustrate the general pattern, one that suited the times, but was not carried over into the twentieth century. In his *General Financial and Trade Review of the City of Toronto, 1881*, Thomas Galbraith devoted a section to "Books and Stationery" and reported that "every house showed increased volume of sales and a much better demand for standard works in the best printed and bound editions." Aggregate sales in Canada were estimated at \$2,250,000, and book exports to the United States, \$5,071.97. (This did not take into account mail orders.) Ten houses were listed as engaging in the wholesale trade: W. J. Gage; Barber & Ellis; Buntin Bros.; Copp, Clark; William Warwick; Brown Bros.; Jas. Campbell & Son; Canada Publishing Co.; Nisbet, Byron & Co.; and Robert McPhail.

#### THE METHODIST BOOK AND PUBLISHING HOUSE

Of all Canadian publishing houses in the latter part of the last century, the most influential in the long run was that of the Methodist Church. The oldest in date of founding, it was relatively slow in taking a leading role in trade book publishing. The press was established in 1829 by the Methodist Conference to publish a weekly newspaper, the *Christian Guardian*, and to provide a "book depot" (later re-named the Book Room) which would supply the book needs of Methodist circuit riders. As "Book Steward," Egerton Ryerson, then twenty-three, was both editor and business manager.

From the familiar combination of newspaper-cum-bookstore, it was a natural step to the publication of tracts, pamphlets, and full-length books. The earliest publications were religious but from 1833 onward the Book Stewards also published some titles that could be classed as trade books. The list of these up to Confederation, however, is not impressive – an occasional volume of verse both sacred and secular, various biographies (mostly of ministerial worthies), a cookbook, a *Female Emigrant's Guide* by Mrs. Traill, a narrative by Rev. John Ryerson of his travels in the Hudson's Bay Company territories, a book on natural history, and one or two on the history of Methodism.

Dr. Samuel Rose, appointed Book Steward in 1865, did much to put the publishing operation on a sound financial basis. Associated with him were three editors, G. H. Dewart, John Carroll, and W. H. Withrow, all able men who wrote books themselves and discovered writing talent in others. The house was thus ready for a period of expansion when Rev. William Briggs became Book Steward in 1878.

An Irishman from County Down, Briggs had been educated in Liverpool and had emigrated to Canada in 1859. In 1863 he had been ordained a Methodist minister and had served congregations in Hamilton, London, and Cobourg before becoming minister of the fashionable Metropolitan Church in Toronto in 1874. He had earned a reputation not as a scholar but as a gifted preacher and able administrator – “a model superintendent of a circuit and chairman of a district,” as a contemporary testified. It was this administrative talent that commended him to the Committee on Publishing. In addition, he combined consummate tact with great geniality and flashes of Irish wit and humour – qualities not readily apparent in the rather dour, whiskered face that looks out from surviving photographs.

Briggs quickly mastered his new profession in all its ramifications. His predecessors in office seem to have regarded their tour of duty as a temporary interruption of a regular ministerial career. As publishers they maintained their amateur standing. Briggs very soon became a professional in the field, visited English publishers to work out agency arrangements, attended American book fairs, searched out and encouraged promising writers, built up a powerful sales organization in the retail and wholesale departments, and made the William Briggs imprint a household name in Canada.

A lead article in the trade journal, *Books and Notions*, of July 1885, on “The Methodist Book and Publishing House, its Rise, Progress and Present Standing,” asserted that “at the present time it probably publishes more books than any other house in Canada.” Books and pamphlets (excluding periodicals) amounted to 245,023 copies in 1884, 35,000 more than in 1883. The number of books bound during the year was 211,714.

The peak year for original publishing was 1897 when the house brought out thirty-seven new titles, a record not exceeded until the late 1920s. Briggs discovered that there was money in trade book publishing and had no compunction about pushing this end of the business, especially with agency books, as it enabled the publishing house to contribute liberally to the superannuation and other funds of the Church. He also took some pride, as he reported to the General Conference of the Church in 1886, in publishing “works distinctively Canadian in their conception, and therefore successful in a high degree in their appeal to the Canadian mind.” Among the Canadian authors he published were William Kirby, Mrs. Catherine Traill, Agnes C. Laut, Nellie McClung, Marshall Saunders, Sir James and Lady Edgar, A. S. Morton, the Lizars sisters, James L. Hughes, Arthur Durant Watson, William Wilfred Campbell, Charles G. D. Roberts, Frederick George Scott, J. W. Bengough, E. W. Thomson, Theodore H. Rand, Charles Mair, Isabella Valancy Crawford, Isobel Ecclestone MacKay, Arthur Stringer, Robert W. Service, Ernest Thompson Seton, Pauline Johnson and J. W. Tyrrell.

But while much credit must go to Briggs for providing, year after year, an outlet for Canadian writers, he came to regard this as less important in his overall opera-



tion than the much more profitable agency publishing program. The big returns came not from the Canadian authors, with one or two exceptions such as Ralph Connor and Robert W. Service, but from such authors as Philip Gibbs, Joseph C. Lincoln, Robert Hitchens, George Barr McCutcheon, Marie Corelli, Ethel M. Dell, and Kate Douglas Wiggin. As Dr. Lorne Pierce said of his predecessor:

During the last decade of the regime of Dr. Briggs, the book publishing programme of the House gradually slowed down to almost zero. The House had taken on a large number of important foreign agencies which provided each year roaring sales of best-sellers from New York and London. It was a time when the book trade departments dominated the policy of the House. If agency titles could be had, with little or no risk, why waste time and money on Canadian ventures?<sup>12</sup>

John McClelland, Sr. has told how *Songs of a Sourdough* by Robert W. Service was at first rejected and how it came to be "saved":

At that time I was in charge of a department in the Methodist Book Room. It was the custom of the House that new books were first submitted to the Trade Department, which was done in the case of *Songs of a Sourdough* and it was turned down . . . It just so happened, however, that at this particular time, the Western representative of the Trade Department, Mr. Bond, was in the West and he heard here and there reports of the work of Service and he wrote his Chief, the result being that the book was taken again to the Trade Department and finally accepted by them. Mr. Caswell and myself were of a decided opinion that the book was one that was sure to have a book sale but the others, at the time, could not see it.<sup>13</sup>

McClelland was not the only staff member of the Methodist Book and Publishing House who later made a name as a publisher in his own right; his first and second partners, Frederick Goodchild and George Stewart, were both Briggs's men, as were S. B. Gundy, Thomas Allen, and G. J. McLeod. Indeed it may be said that William Briggs set the course that Canadian publishing would take in the twentieth century by handpicking half a dozen exceptional bookmen whom he trained as professionals and imbued with his own enthusiasm and dedication. He then had the satisfaction of watching them branch out on their own to transform the whole complexion of the trade book publishing industry in Canada.

#### THE CANADIAN LITERARY SCENE, 1880-1914

In a chapter on Canadian literature in *Canada and Its Provinces*, (volume 13, 1912), T. G. Marquis stated:

A new movement took place in Canadian literature about the year 1880; some ten years after this date Canadian fiction entered upon a new stage of its development. It would be quite within the mark to take the definite year 1890 as the dividing line between the early writers, more or less provincial in their art, and the modern school, influenced by world standards.

The poetic movement to which Marquis referred was ushered in by Charles G. D. Roberts's *Orion and Other Poems*, published in Philadelphia by Lippincott in 1880. A seminal work, it influenced and gave encouragement to Canadian poets in

the Maritimes and Ontario – Bliss Carman, Francis Sherman, Archibald Lampman, Duncan Campbell Scott, William Wilfred Campbell, Pauline Johnson, and others. In Lampman's familiar words it was "like a voice from some new paradise of art calling us to be up and doing."

Roberts, Carman, and Sherman left Canada for the United States where there were more opportunities for a writing career. In New York Carman introduced Canadian poets to American readers by publishing their poems in the *Independent*, of which he was the literary editor. His own first volume of verse, *Low Tide on Grand Pré*, was published in Boston by Copeland & Day in 1897. Two years later a pirated edition of the title poem was issued as a small booklet by Copp, Clark, who had already brought out *The Book of the Native* by Roberts in 1896. William Briggs published Roberts's *Songs of the Common Day* and Campbell's *The Dread Voyage* in 1893. Duncan Campbell Scott's earliest work, *The Magic House and Other Poems*, printed in Edinburgh, was published by Drurie of Ottawa in 1893, but for his second volume, *Labor and the Angel*, he went to Carman's publisher, Copeland & Day of Boston, who issued it in 1898. Sherman's *Matins* was also published in Boston, in 1896; Pauline Johnson's first publisher was John Lane of London, England, who brought out *The White Wampum* in 1895.

All these poets sought a wider audience than Canada could provide; indeed it was only by establishing their reputations abroad that they could hope for wide acceptance in Canada. Isabella Valancy Crawford, who was little known outside Canada, remained largely neglected. Her *Collected Poems*, edited by John Garvin and published by Briggs in 1905, sold only some five hundred copies.

The same was true of Canadian novelists; they, too, had to achieve recognition abroad before they were accepted in Canada, although Ralph Connor was an exception. We have already noted that James de Mille and May Agnes Fleming published their work in the United States, as did Lucy Maud Montgomery, Arthur Stringer, Edward W. Thomson, Ernest Thompson Seton, Charles G. D. Roberts, and others. Roberts later went to live in England where a number of expatriates were gaining popularity – Gilbert Parker, Robert Barr, Lily Dougall, Sara Jeanette Duncan, and Grant Allen, to mention only the more prominent. Robert Barr, writing in the *Canadian Magazine*, in November 1899, admonished his fellow Canadians to:

Get over the border as soon as you can; come to London or go to New York; shake the dust of Canada from your feet. Get out of a land that is willing to pay money for whiskey, but wants its literature free in the shape of Ayer's Almanac . . . because it costs nothing.

But those who stayed at home did their best to improve the literary climate. Lampman, Scott, and Campbell all contributed to a weekly column in the *Toronto Globe* during 1892-3. In the latter year, the establishment of *Queen's Quarterly* and the *Canadian Magazine* provided two new outlets for Canadian writers, two forums for the discussion of Canadian life and letters.

Five years later, a new phenomenon appeared on the Canadian literary scene – a native novelist who became a runaway best-seller first in Canada, and only then in the United States. This unlikely novelist was Rev. Charles W. Gordon, whose college friend, Rev. James Macdonald, editor of the Presbyterian Church paper, the *Westminster*, ran serially *Black Rock*, Gordon's tale of the Canadian Northwest Mission. The pseudonym the author intended to use was "Can.Nor." (for Canadian Northwest), but the editor changed it to "Connor" and supplied the Christian name "Ralph." So popular were the instalments that Macdonald decided to publish the tale in book form from the Westminster Press. An edition of five thousand soon sold out. George H. Doran, a Canadian working for Fleming H. Revell of Chicago, purchased American rights. Within a year, as Gordon stated in his autobiography, *Postscript to Adventure*, "*Black Rock* had gone some hundreds of thousands, while with *The Sky Pilot*, which followed during the succeeding year, and *The Man from Glengarry* two years later, the total issue was estimated by my publisher at over five million copies."

Such a phenomenon had certainly never happened before in Canadian publishing history. There was at this time widespread interest in the Great Northwest, as witness a spate of books, both fiction and nonfiction, published during the first decade of the new century – *The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company* by George Bryce, and Agnes Laut's *Lords of the North*, both published by Briggs in 1900, Arthur Stringer's *The Silver Poppy* (Briggs, 1903), Ralph Connor's *The Doctor* (1904), *The Prospector* (1904), *The Foreigner* (1909) all published by Westminster, Charles Mair's *Through the Mackenzie Basin* (Briggs, 1908), H. A. Cody's *The Frontiersman, a Tale of the Yukon* (Briggs, 1910) and many others. From 1905 to 1914 an average of twenty-one new Canadian novels appeared annually, a good many of them dealing with western themes.

Canadian history and biography attracted scholars, writers, editors, and publishers. Three large subscription sets were brought out before the end of the first world war: *The Makers of Canada* in twenty-three volumes, Duncan Campbell Scott and Pelham Edgar general editors, published by G. N. Morang, 1903-08; *The Chronicles of Canada*, under the editorship of H. H. Langton and G. M. Wrong, in thirty-two volumes, Glasgow, Brook & Co. publishers, 1914-16; and the same publishers' monumental *Canada and Its Provinces* in twenty-three volumes, edited by Adam Shortt and A. G. Doughty, 1914-7. To these may be added the publications of the Champlain Society, organized in 1906 to edit and publish scholarly editions of primary source material relating to the history of Canada. A dozen volumes, available only to members and institutional subscribers, appeared up to 1920, and as many more were then planned or in preparation.

Although these impressive series cannot be classed as trade publications, they undoubtedly did much to stimulate both popular and scholarly interest in Canada's past and to encourage Canadian writers and publishers. Indeed the avowed pub-



lishing policy of Robert Glasgow was "to open up a profitable market for the literary output of Canadian writers and investigators and thus to stimulate an important department of labour which it is desirable to encourage in Canada."

#### NEW CANADIAN PUBLISHING HOUSES

Over a dozen new publishing houses were established in Toronto between 1896 and 1913 – Musson Book Company Ltd. (which also managed Hodder & Stoughton Canada Ltd.), 1896; G. N. Morang, 1897; George J. McLeod, Ltd. (which became McLeod & Allen in 1901), 1898; University of Toronto Press, 1901; Oxford University Press (S. B. Gundy), 1904; John C. Winston Ltd., 1904; the Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1906; McClelland and Goodchild (later McClelland, Goodchild and Stewart, and still later McClelland and Stewart), 1906; Thomas Langton, 1906; Cassell & Company Ltd., 1907; Bell & Cockburn, 1911; J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1913; Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1913.

With the possible exception of the University of Toronto Press, none of these new houses went through the familiar nineteenth-century evolution from book-seller to printer to publisher to jobber. The majority were Canadian branches of British or American houses, each representing, as exclusive Canadian agents, other British and American houses. This was true also of the Canadian publishers, most of whom began as jobbers and distributors before they started original publishing. Only the University of Toronto Press among this group had its own printing establishment.

With the influx of settlers into western Canada (Saskatchewan and Alberta became provinces in 1905), more and more book agents were travelling from coast to coast, reporting good sales in Winnipeg, Regina, Calgary, and Vancouver. Public libraries were also springing up, aided and abetted by Andrew Carnegie whose trust fund would match locally-subscribed funds. Book agents often helped in such drives, not entirely from altruistic motives but with an eye to future business. An article entitled "News of the Book World," in the January 1907 issue of *Bookseller & Stationer*, expressed general satisfaction with the state of the Canadian book trade at the end of 1906:

Christmas trade has been uniformly satisfactory and publishers have cleared out their fall issues nicely . . . Manufacturing facilities were taxed to the limit and the publishers had to have recourse to importations. The demand for Canadian books was noticeable and the half dozen or so purely Canadian books of the season sold remarkably well. In fact, as one publisher put it, it looks as if publishers would be justified in spending more money in bringing out Canadian books in the future.

One trend of the time, soon to be taken up by almost all publishers, was the issuing of uniform reprint series. These were not the cheap, newsprint, double-column, throw-away editions fashionable in the late 1870s and 1880s. They were inexpensive re-runs of regular editions uniformly bound, some selling for as little as twenty-five



cents, but most of them for fifty or seventy-five cents each. Almost all the popular Canadian writers of the period 1900 to 1920 became available in reprint form. The *Canadian Bookman* of April 1910 took note of this development:

The practice of issuing what are known as cheap reprints of copyright fiction has invaded Canada and all our Canadian publishers are now directing their attention to the production of new editions of books which have had a good run in the \$1.25 edition . . . The new editions are almost as good as the first editions and there will doubtless be a big sale for them.

But some fear was expressed that the public might become confused about book values and stop buying first editions. As one writer said, "The public do not realize that a reprint at 50¢ is only a possibility because the first edition at \$1.25 has been a success."

Even more popular with the reading public were the great British reprint series – Everyman's Library and the Temple series by J. M. Dent, the World's Classics by Oxford University Press, Collins' Clear Type Library, The People's Books by T. C. & E. C. Jack, Nelson's Library, and others. These well-printed, neatly-bound pocket books, inexpensive because mass produced, placed the very best popular literature within reach of the average person.

#### IMPORTATION OF BRITISH AND AMERICAN TRADE BOOKS

All Canadian trade book publishing houses in the early twentieth century were agents for British and/or American publishers, whose lists they contracted to stock and sell as exclusive Canadian distributors. The principals' books were imported without any change in imprint, but with the name of the Canadian agent-publisher on the copyright page. The original publisher would re-route all Canadian orders to his Canadian agent, but could not, of course, control British or American jobbers who bought directly and then resold to bookstores and libraries in Canada.

The agent was responsible for advertising and otherwise promoting the principals' books. In practice he would stock only those which were likely to have a ready sale in Canada, but would back-order on a "rush" basis any book which he did not hold in stock. Some agents tended to concentrate on best-sellers to the neglect of the principal's general list. If the original publisher became dissatisfied with his agent, he could either change to another distributor or set up his own publishing branch in Canada. If he took the latter course, he, too, normally became an agent for other publishing houses.

A Canadian agent-publisher sometimes contracted with a British or American publisher (who might or might not be one whom he represented in Canada) to bring out a Canadian edition of a given book. An author or his literary agent, for example, might wish, or be persuaded, to sell Canadian rights to a publisher other than his original publisher's agent. Indeed this happened so frequently that *Canadian Bookseller and Stationer* after mid-century carried a section entitled "Adjusted Rights

and Titles" with this notice: "The pages which follow contain the titles of books which have been announced [by] U.S. and British publishers and which will not be available through the regular representatives of these publishers."

Unlike agency books, Canadian editions of foreign books carried on their title pages the imprint of the Canadian publisher, and the original publisher's name on the copyright page. The books could be imported in sheets to be bound in Canada or fully bound and ready for sale. In the early years of the century the original plates were often imported and the book was then manufactured in Canada.

The contract for a Canadian edition would stipulate the number of copies and would confer sole right to the sale of the book in Canada, or in North America if the Canadian publisher could negotiate rights to the United States market as well as his own. British publishers, authors, or their agents were generally unwilling, however, to make such a deal. They preferred to sell United States rights, and more often than not North American rights, to an American publishing house. Experience showed that if an American publisher overestimated the Canadian market, he could absorb any remainders in the large home market, whereas a Canadian publisher who miscalculated the American market could not dispose of unsold copies in Canada. To play it safe, the Canadian would offer to take a smaller edition than his American competitor, and, as a result, seldom managed to obtain North American rights.

Another form of publishing agreement was joint publication by a Canadian and an American or British publisher. In this case the cost of printing and the payment of royalties were shared by the two publishers jointly. This type of contract usually involved very popular writers – Ralph Connor, for example – whose books would be best-sellers in Canada.

#### THE FIRST WORLD WAR

As George Parker has pointed out at some length in his University of Toronto doctoral dissertation on the house of McClelland and Stewart, the war years from 1914 to 1918, far from being a deterrent to Canadian publishing, provided a new impetus to the industry. For the first time, the entire nation was caught up in a patriotic military effort beyond her own borders. Thousands of young Canadians went off to Europe while those at home were eager to read about their exploits, and to confirm their belief in the wickedness of the enemy and the righteousness of the allied cause.

As soon as war was declared there was a run on books dealing with Germany and the Great Powers, the events leading up to the outbreak of hostilities, the comparative military and naval strength of the combatants, and the leading soldiers and statesmen on both sides. The Christmas book trade in 1914 broke all previous records. In the following months, as books began to appear about the first Canadian

contingent, publishers and booksellers found it hard to keep up with the demand. Some Canadian war books, such as F. M. Bell's *First Canadians in France* and Col. Billy Bishop's *Winged Warfare*, supplied first-hand accounts of Canadians in action; others, such as Ralph Connor's *The Major* and *The Sky Pilot in No Man's Land*, used the story-teller's art to incite patriotic fervour. Poetry, too, had a new vogue when it related to the war effort, as witness the popularity of *Canadian Poems of the Great War*, edited by John Garvin (McClelland and Stewart, 1918), and another anthology, *In the Day of Battle*, edited by Ellen Holman (Briggs, 1919), while Col. John McRae's *In Flanders Field* won fame throughout the English-speaking world. Gilbert Parker turned from novel-writing to war propaganda in *The World in the Crucible* (1915); Bliss Carman, in New York, was active in the Vigilantes, a group of writers and publicists who urged American participation with the Allies and countered German propaganda in the United States; Charles G. D. Roberts and other Canadian writers became active combatants.

British war books from H. G. Wells's *Mr. Britling Sees it Through* to Sir Philip Gibbs's *Now it Can be Told* found avid readers in Canada. But as the war progressed there were serious problems of supply and it became increasingly difficult for Canadian publishers to import either sheets or printed books from Great Britain. A good many Canadian editions of British war books were printed from the authorized American editions. After 1917, American war books, too, were eagerly sought by Canadian publishers.

Writing in the *Canadian Bookman* of January 1919, Hugh Eayrs, then president of Macmillan (Canada) Ltd., said: "In over four years of war Canadian publishers have distributed probably at least one thousand different war books, all of which have had sales varying from one hundred to twenty-five, thirty, and forty thousand." The latter figures were ten times the normal sales of most books in pre-war days.

#### THE NINETEEN TWENTIES

For a year or two after the war, there was a slump in the Canadian book trade. Publishers and booksellers at the height of wartime prosperity had over-published and over-stocked, and with demobilization and the return to peacetime conditions the trade was badly in need of a new focus. This was soon to be given the industry, largely through the efforts of one seasoned publisher and two or three newcomers. Of this group, the leading spirit was Dr. Lorne Pierce of the Ryerson Press.

A graduate of Queen's University, Pierce had done postgraduate work at Victoria College and New York University, where he wrote a doctoral dissertation on religious influences in Russian literature. After giving a paper on this subject at the General Conference of the Methodist Church in Canada in 1920, he was appointed literary editor of the Church's press.

Pierce was a man of boundless energy and creative ideas who believed that the



new sense of national identity fostered by Canada's war effort could be channelled into a Canadian literary revival, but that first Canadians needed to have a much better knowledge of their literary heritage. Their national literature had never become a subject of academic respectability. Some lectures on Canadian literature had been given at Dalhousie University during the war by Dr. J. D. Logan, but no university courses in it were then offered anywhere in Canada. As an undergraduate, Lorne Pierce had asked Dean James Cappon, his English professor, why they did not study Canadian literature. The learned dean answered this by reciting in a sing-song manner Robert W. Service's "Ballad of Blasphemous Bill" with its climactic line: "It didn't matter a damn!"

To Lorne Pierce Canadian literature did matter a damn – all of it, English and French. One of his first undertakings was to edit a new anthology and to compile an *Outline of Canadian Literature*. He also projected a forty-volume series, *Makers of Canadian Literature*, with Victor Morin as co-editor. Each volume was to include a biography of the author, a generous selection of his work, a critical appraisal, and a bibliography. The Pierce correspondence, now in the Douglas Library at Queen's University, shows the amount of time and effort that went into this notable series which enlisted some of the best critical minds in English-speaking and French-speaking Canada. Unfortunately only thirteen volumes appeared before the series ran into financial difficulties and came to a halt.

Meanwhile Pierce had instituted a new departure in educational publishing – a series of school readers emphasizing Canadian themes in prose and verse which could be used in every province throughout Canada. Another of his projects was to organize lecture and reading tours by Ryerson authors, notably Wilson MacDonald, a poet whose eccentricity it was to bite the hand that fed him. But if MacDonald's gratitude to Pierce and Ryerson was in inverse proportion to the time and money expended on him, E. J. Pratt, whose first volume, *Newfoundland Verse*, was brought out by Ryerson in 1923, had nothing but praise for the new editor. "Look after your health," he wrote in January 1923, "and get some sleep. We don't want 'Ryerson Press' to revert to 'William Briggs' because of the early demise of the new literary manager."

Lorne Pierce was soon an intimate of Charles Roberts, Bliss Carman, Pelham Edgar, and Ned Pratt and through them reached out to nearly all the promising younger writers. In trips across Canada he became familiar with literary men and women in all sections of the country, and carried on so voluminous a correspondence that one wonders how he found time to devote to his many other duties.

This, then, was the new breed of Canadian publisher-editor in the 1920s. Hugh Eayrs of Macmillan was another from the same mould. English by birth, he was the son of a noted scholar and author and was thus exposed to books from his earliest years. He came to Canada in 1912, edited trade papers for the Maclean Publishing Company, co-authored a novel, *The Amateur Diplomat*, with T. B. Costain,



joined Macmillan in 1916, and showed such energy and resourcefulness that in five years' time he was made president at the age of twenty-six. Like Pierce, Eayrs believed in a Canadian literary revival and was determined to keep Macmillan in the vanguard. More ebullient and flamboyant than Pierce, he was much in demand as a speaker at literary gatherings and took an active part in helping to organize the new literary and trade associations which sprang up in the twenties.

A third publisher who played a major role in aiding and abetting the cause of Canadian letters was John McClelland of McClelland and Stewart. His own interest in native writers antedated the first world war, when he published more Canadian authors than almost all the other Toronto publishers combined. A man of less literary talent or critical acumen than either Pierce or Eayrs, he excelled as a businessman and gained the confidence of his authors as a man of high principles and unquestioned integrity.

The fourth publisher who became a well-known public figure in the literary circles of the post-war period was Henry Button of J. M. Dent & Sons, whose office on Bloor Street across from the Varsity Stadium was a rendezvous of the literati. Although the Dent firm did more educational than trade book publishing in Canada, Button had Canadian interests at heart and with irrepressible wit made a lively contribution to the "new look" that was transforming a stodgy industry into an exciting adventure.

Looking back some forty years later, Lorne Pierce wrote of this period:

The whole country seemed to be outward bound, conscious of its emerging identity, and conscious also of its ability to speak for itself . . . I am sure that John McClelland and Hugh Eayrs believed as I did. We were at the beginning of things as a nation and we felt under obligation to assist as many spokesmen of our time as we could. Not all were above sea level as art, but it was the best that was being done, and to publish it after careful revision would establish the assurance that at last Canadian publishers were prepared to make a great sacrifice to see that Canadian writers had a chance . . . It was not that we were too patriotic, or too sentimental, or too uncritical, for we all knew a good book when we saw one. It was simply that a birth, and then possibly a rebirth, of Canadian letters had to begin somewhere and it might as well begin with us.<sup>14</sup>

One way to make a beginning was to take a critical look at Canadian literature of the past. Ray Stannard Baker's *History of English Canadian Literature to Confederation*, based on his Harvard Ph.D. thesis, was published by Harvard University Press in 1920. Among Canadian publishers, the first in the field was the house of McClelland and Stewart with *Highways of Canadian Literature* by Logan and French in 1924 (more eulogistic than critical) and in the same year Archibald MacMechan's *Head-waters of Canadian Literature*. Macmillan brought out in 1926 Lionel Stevenson's *Appraisals of Canadian Literature*, followed in 1927 by Lorne Pierce's *Outline of Canadian Literature* (Ryerson) and in 1930 by Vernon Rhodenizer's *Handbook of Canadian Literature* (Graphic).

The growing sense of Canadian identity was also reflected in the number of na-

tional associations established in the decade of the twenties. Almost invariably the headquarters were in Toronto, but membership was drawn from Canada as a whole.

First came the Canadian Authors Association, founded in 1921 by B. K. Sandwell and John Murray Gibbon to protest against the manufacturing and licensing clauses in a new copyright bill then before Parliament. A powerful printers' lobby sought protectionist legislation whereas the CAA argued that copyright must serve the author first, giving him absolute control over his work, a point not finally settled in the authors' favour until the 1930s. The CAA accomplished other goals as well: inauguration of Canadian Book Week (later Library Week); establishment of a fund to aid indigent writers; publication of an official organ, the *Canadian Bookman*, whose aims were "to foster Canadian authorship, Canadian publishing and Canadian reading."

A second new national body was the Canadian Association of Booksellers and Stationers, founded in 1921, but this one did not enjoy a very long or eventful life. Some of its functions were duplicated by the Association of Canadian Bookmen, founded in 1925, which tried to bridge the gap between the utilitarian trade concerns of publisher and bookseller and the more intellectual interests of authors, librarians, and academics. It issued a general catalogue entitled *Books for Everybody* and distributed 100,000 copies. It also provided a roster of speakers for service clubs and radio broadcasts.

The decade of the twenties also saw the establishment of two new publishing houses outside Toronto – the Graphic Press in Ottawa and Louis Carrier in Montreal. Although both were short-lived, they succeeded in publishing some noteworthy Canadian books.

Graphic was the creation of Henry C. Miller, an Ottawa printer who owned a monotype machine but had little capital. In 1924, in association with Alan B. Beddoe, he determined to set up a publishing house exclusively devoted to Canadian books by Canadian authors, printed and published in Canada. Their first book, *Land of Afternoon* by "Gilbert Knox" (Mrs. Madge MacBeth), was a successful satire on the social and political life of Ottawa; another book that had a wide sale was Frederick Philip Grove's *A Search for America*, published in 1927. With the financial backing of a Mrs. Cameron of Ottawa, the firm was reorganized and incorporated in 1928 with W. E. Ashton as manager and Frederick Philip Grove as editor. Despite financial difficulties, Grove announced a fiction contest which brought in twenty-five manuscript entries; but the winner, Raymond Knister, had to sue the company to get his money and then collected only half the amount. His novel was not published before the Graphic Press went into bankruptcy in 1932, having published, all told, some seventy volumes.

The house of Louis Carrier, Montreal, London, and New York, was founded in 1927 and made a brave start by bringing out some well-designed books of superior quality, including W. T. Waugh's *James Wolfe: Man and Soldier*, Carl Y. Connor's

*Archibald Lampman: Canadian Poet of Nature*, and Sir Andrew Macphail's *Three Persons*. The secretary of the Canadian Authors Association, H. A. Kennedy, gave his novel, *Unsought Adventure*, to Carrier in 1929. The book was chosen as book-of-the-month by the Carillon Club of Montreal, but this short-lived book club folded before Kennedy received any money, and on top of that Carrier, too, went bankrupt. Writing to Lorne Pierce on 30 August 1930, Kennedy referred to the Carrier failure as "a real tragedy, for a fine start had been made, and better judgement and management could have won real success."

In point of fact, both firms were victims of the depression. But even if times had been normal it is doubtful whether they could have survived without more capital, more agency representation (Graphic had none), and/or a textbook department to help support trade book publication.

Both of these publishers placed much emphasis on book design, as did other Canadian houses during this decade. McClelland and Stewart, Macmillan, and the house of Ryerson all employed some of the foremost Canadian artists of the time to help design and illustrate their books, among them J. E. H. MacDonald, Lawren Harris, Thoreau MacDonald, C. W. Jefferys, and others.

#### THE GREAT DEPRESSION

Although the bottom fell out of the stock market in October and November 1929, this catastrophe had little immediate effect upon the book trade. Christmas sales were up and the year as a whole had been one of the best in Canada for business generally.

Reports by presidents of banks and of the Canadian Manufacturers Association for the next few years were pessimistic. "When have prices been so low?" asked the CMA President in 1932. "When have bargain and bankruptcy sales been so numerous, and when has unemployment been so great?" But a bookish note was struck by W. C. Coulter of the CMA a year later: "In times of economic depression men's minds turn to intellectual pursuits; they read, study and think more than in good times when there are more diversions."<sup>15</sup> Whether or not this was mere whistling in the dark, the record shows that most Canadian publishers (Graphic and Carrier were exceptions) managed to weather the storm. Nevertheless retrenchment was the order of the day; salaries and staff were cut and manuscripts scrutinized less for quality than for marketability. Original Canadian publishing slumped, and publishers relied more and more upon promoting sales of the most popular British and American books. This was less risky for Canadian publishers but it created hardship for Canadian authors. In 1929 McClelland and Stewart had brought out twenty-six Canadian titles, all processed before the stock market crash, but during the depression the average fell to seven.

At the Ryerson Press, the Makers of Canadian Literature series, which had come

to what was assumed to be a temporary interruption because of financial problems, now lost all hope of completion. Worse still, Dr. Solandt, the Book Steward, much to the dismay of Lorne Pierce, declined to risk publication of C. B. Sissons's scholarly two-volume biography of the founding father, Egerton Ryerson. It was brought out in 1937, with a greater show of confidence that times were getting better, by Clarke, Irwin & Company.

The latter publishing house was one of the success stories of the 1930s. William H. Clarke, a graduate of the University of Toronto who had joined the Macmillan company, and his brother-in-law, J. C. W. Irwin, who had recently started a publishing business, Irwin, Gordon & Company, joined forces to establish the Clarke, Irwin firm in the summer of 1930. It was a daring venture at a time when the depression was getting worse and, coupled with the prairie drought, was threatening the whole Canadian economy.

The new house became agents for six British educational publishers and for the first few years confined their activity to school books, publishing some original Canadian textbooks to supplement those of their principals. Later, Clarke, Irwin branched out into a vigorous trade book operation, producing a long list of Canadian books of high quality. In 1936, after the death of S. B. Gundy of the Oxford Press, Clarke became manager of Oxford, at the same time carrying on his own firm, an affiliation which lasted until 1949. Meanwhile, in 1944, Irwin left and established a separate schoolbook publishing house, the Book Society of Canada.

The years from 1935 to the outbreak of the second world war brought an upswing in Canadian publishing. The first encouraging signs were the fall lists for 1934, which were larger than publishers had produced since 1929. But so accustomed was W. A. Deacon, book editor of the *Mail & Empire*, to decry the dearth of Canadian titles year after year that he failed to see the turn of the tide. In a sprightly letter to the editor, 7 November 1934, Hugh Eayrs of Macmillan took Deacon to task for his jeremiads:

For years he has been driving us all, publishers, booksellers and public, to bother with Canadian Literature with a capital C and a capital L, and all three of us responding to his urgency have worked in a wild frenzy. Now this morning he is in despair. He finds it "difficult for Canadian authors to get into print." He finds the meagerness of the new Canadian books of merit sad to view . . .

I must, I positively must cheer him up. Speaking as a mere and steadily berated publisher I must point out that my Autumn list this year contains 34 new titles by Canadian writers, while my Spring list had 24. Both lists are, in numbers, the largest in the history of this business which has been in Canada for 29 years . . .

Here we are in this business of Canadian literature with writers writing and publishers publishing and booksellers bookselling and lending libraries lending and readers reading – all going at it like the milltail of hell, and all to please the good doctor, and yet we can't satisfy him . . . Cheer up, Dr. Deacon, the first hundred years are the worst!

Despite a government sales tax on books, which rose from one per cent in 1931 to eight per cent plus a three per cent excise tax in 1936, the book trade continued



to improve. In 1937 the volume of business reached the highest point since 1929. With the Munich crisis the next year, however, and war clouds threatening despite the optimism of Neville Chamberlain, some houses reduced their commitments. McClelland and Stewart, on the other hand, doubled their previous year's output.

#### THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND AFTER

The experience of the first world war gave some grounds for optimism that the call to arms might be accompanied by a rush to books. Two factors had to be dealt with at once – the higher exchange rates on American imports and increased freight and insurance rates on books imported from the United Kingdom. Canadian book prices were increased by general agreement among publishers by about ten per cent, and novels which had been selling at \$2.50 jumped to \$2.75 or \$3.00. Agent-publishers feared that their supplies from London might be cut off, at least until a convoy system was in operation. But the American Neutrality Act, passed in the late fall of 1939, enabled British houses to ship their Canadian consignments to Toronto via New York.

The biggest threat to publishing came not from the U-boats but from paper shortages. Even the most reputable British firms had to resort to inferior grades of paper and these, too, were in short supply. Paperbacks were having a new vogue in the United Kingdom. Penguin Books had made their first appearance in 1935 and despite shortages greatly expanded the number of titles during the war years. A New York office was opened in 1939, but the American paperback revolution was a post-war phenomenon.

With the restoration of peace, paper shortages came to an end, and books recovered from their shoddy wartime appearance. The well-designed book once again came to the fore with general improvement in format, in the selection of appropriate typeface, in presswork, binding, and in jacket design.

In Canada, 1945 was a peak publishing year but was followed by a period of recession which lasted into the fifties. Book prices rose fifteen to twenty per cent annually; sales fell off while production costs mounted. Once again original Canadian publishing was curtailed and publishers' lists cut in half. As John Gray of Macmillan said in 1955, "To publish a Canadian general book in 1948-52 was to accept a probable loss, or at best a dubious hope of small profit in perhaps two or three years."<sup>16</sup> A Canadian publisher could sometimes arrange to have an English or American house publish a particularly promising Canadian manuscript by taking an advance order of 1,500 to 2,000 copies. This reduced the risk for the Canadian publisher and gave the Canadian author the advantage of first publication abroad.

After the war, too, a flood of cheap paperbacks hit the American and Canadian markets, distributed by news agencies but largely spurned by the better class of bookstore. It was not until the 1950s that quality paperbacks began to be published in the United States, and not until the sixties in Canada.

Textbook publishing, traditionally the most lucrative branch of Canadian publishing, forged ahead to meet the post-war population explosion, while public schools, high schools, and universities prepared for an unprecedented influx of students. The same conditions prevailed in the United States where textbook publishing soon became big business. There was a rash of mergers – Holt, Rinehart & Winston; Crowell, Collier, Macmillan; Van Nostrand, Reinhold, and others. Several of these firms set up subsidiaries in Canada, providing stiff competition for the indigenous Canadian publisher. By 1960, no fewer than seven hundred British and American houses had agencies or branches in Canada.

#### PROBLEMS OF AGENCY PUBLISHING

The agency system has been a mainstay of Canadian publishing because it has furnished sufficient volume of business to supplement the meagre returns from the sale of original Canadian books. But it has also had the concomitant disadvantage of building up large inventories and thus adding to overhead costs.

Canada is unique in attempting to provide readers with all the books in the English language. Our bookstores carry more American titles than do British bookstores, and more British titles than are found in the average American bookstore. Yet our market is tiny compared with that of either Britain or the United States – roughly 16 million as against 55 million in the United Kingdom and 210 million in the United States. The number of new books published annually in Canada is about 2,500, in the U.K. 33,500, in the U.S. 37,000. Thus in theory over 70,000 new books come onto the Canadian market every year. In practice, of course, thousands of books published abroad in English do not find their way into Canada through the agency system. Nevertheless a remarkably high proportion of trade books do.

One of the baffling problems of the agent-publisher is estimating how many copies of each title on his principals' lists he is likely to sell. Unsold stock eats into profits, but delays in filling orders for out-of-stock books bring complaints of poor service and send his clients to foreign booksellers or jobbers. By circumventing the agent, buyers make it still more difficult for him to gauge with any accuracy the quantity of books to keep in stock.

Libraries are the worst offenders in this practice of buying around the agency. They justify it on several grounds. In the first place, they want books in a hurry and therefore write off agent-publishers who repeatedly report books out of stock. In the second place, they find it much more convenient to process one invoice from a jobber than a dozen from as many agent-publishers; a single order goes out and a single invoice comes back. And in the third place, they argue that "the amount of money to be derived through the placing of all possible orders through Canadian agents would not be large,"<sup>17</sup> certainly not large enough to be significant.

Publishers take a very different view. They concede that service in the past has

sometimes been poor, but maintain that conditions have now improved. They could keep an adequate quantity of books in stock if they could count on orders from libraries. To counter the argument about multiple invoices, they point to the reorganized publishers' co-operative book centre now being operated by Maclean-Hunter. Loss of revenue to jobbers is more substantial, they maintain, than librarians suppose, and is mounting annually. Moreover, it so disorganizes the agency system that it is no longer possible to estimate sales with any degree of reliability. As revenue from imported books diminishes, original Canadian publishing is bound to suffer.

Unlike American publishers who obtain substantial revenue from the sale of subsidiary rights to moving picture companies, book clubs, and paperback publishers, Canadian agent-publishers receive little or no income which could be used as risk capital for original publishing from this source.

The four major commercial firms which have done the most original publishing, Ryerson Press, McClelland and Stewart, Macmillan Company (Canada), and Clarke, Irwin, have all been agency publishers and have all published schoolbooks as well. Without these sources of income, they would have published fewer Canadian books. Agent-publishers who have not engaged in original publishing are in reality wholesalers and can scarcely be called publishers in the true sense.

#### THE PROBLEMS OF ORIGINAL PUBLISHING

There is today no dearth of writing talent in Canada. All Canadian publishers receive more good manuscripts than they can afford to accept for publication. Meanwhile, processing and production costs continue to rise. The manuscript must be edited, and then sent to the production and design department to be marked up for the printer, proofs must be corrected, a jacket prepared, promotion initiated, and all these processes necessarily enter into the cost of the book. To make even a narrow profit, a trade book now must sell three thousand to five thousand copies; a smaller edition at a higher unit cost will usually price the book out of the market. Paperback editions, which must be priced low, require a larger than average market to be profitable to the publisher. Libraries always prefer hardbacks, but after a book has had a good run in hard covers, it may be advantageous to bring out a paperback reprint.

At the beginning of the 1960s McClelland and Stewart started the New Canadian Library Series edited by Malcolm Ross, a scheme for reprinting in paperback editions out-of-print Canadian fiction and poetry, along with some nonfiction and criticism, and in 1963 added the Carleton Library Series devoted chiefly to reprinting books in the social sciences. Before the end of the decade Clarke, Irwin, the University of Toronto Press, and Ryerson, followed suit in issuing quality paperback reprint series.



As more original publishing was attempted, it became increasingly difficult to devote sufficient time and energy to agency publishing. John Gray predicted in 1960 that the mould of Canadian publishing, already cracking, would break under the strain of attempting to provide all the books of the English-speaking world for Canadian readers. Lorne Pierce had written in 1954, "As the years pass, we shall become a completely independent publishing house, developing our own line, in our own time, and in our own way. More and more we shall be free from the halter of the agencies."<sup>18</sup> Ten years later, McClelland and Stewart dropped twenty of their twenty-three agencies and were ahead of Ryerson in attempting to become "a completely independent publishing house."

But as things turned out it was lack of sufficient capital rather than the weight of the agencies that broke the mould of Canadian publishing. The number of Canadian titles increased but the total volume of business did not bring in enough to pay royalties and meet current expenses: printers and bookbinders after all have to be paid before the returns come in from the sale of the books. It proved to be impossible to obtain capital loans from Canadian banks on tolerable terms, and the only alternative for many was to look for a buyer.

Ryerson, the oldest publishing house in Canada, was costing the United Church half a million dollars a year. Reluctantly church officials had to put it up for sale. "It was hoped to find a Canadian buyer," said Rev. Frank Brisbin in November 1970, "and we have been looking for a year. At the end, the best Canadian offer would have left us short of working capital for our own church publishing needs to an almost incapacitating degree."<sup>19</sup> The upshot was the sale of Ryerson that month to the wholly-owned American subsidiary, McGraw-Hill of Canada Limited. The Canadian head of this firm, however, retained the Ryerson name and gave assurance that original Canadian publishing would continue.

At about the same time, W. J. Gage Ltd. announced the sale of its educational division to Scott Foresman of Chicago – once again because there was not enough working capital to compete successfully with wealthy American schoolbook companies operating in Canada.

In February 1971, Jack McClelland, president of McClelland and Stewart, made public the fact that liabilities amounting to over one million dollars and the impossibility of negotiating bank loans at reasonable rates left the company no alternative to selling out. This brought a shock reaction among Canadian publishers. "It would be almost a national tragedy," said Hugh Kane of Macmillan, "if McClelland and Stewart were to fall into U.S. hands."<sup>20</sup> Alarmed lest the mould of Canadian publishing be irreparably broken, the Ontario Government had already appointed a Royal Commission on Book Publishing, and acting on its first interim report provided funds on sufficiently generous terms to prevent an American take-over of McClelland and Stewart.

One phenomenon of the 1960s had been the mushrooming of various small pub-



lishing houses specializing in books by Canadian authors – poetry, novels, adult nonfiction, and some school texts. A number of these new all-Canadian houses are located outside Toronto and most are not members of the Canadian Book Publishers' Council. Among these smaller houses are Gray's Publishing (Sidney, B.C.), Sono Nis Press (Vancouver), M. G. Hurtig (Edmonton), House of Anansi (Toronto), Oberon Press (Ottawa), New Press (Toronto), Peter Martin Associates (Toronto), Harvest House (Montreal), and Fiddlehead Books (Fredericton). Acting as a group, they set up an Emergency Committee to petition the federal government (a) to set up a Publishing Development Corporation, and (b) to prohibit by law the sale of Canadian houses to foreign interests. As most of these new houses lack the twin underpinning of a vigorous schoolbook operation and agency publishing, their chance of survival without some further infusion of resource capital is, to say the least, hazardous.

#### RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

In this outline of the development of trade book publishing, we have noted that from the earliest times Canadian publishers, booksellers, and the reading public have very largely depended upon trade books imported from outside Canada. "Can anything good come out of Canada?" seems to have been a mark of our colonialism. We recognized the merit of our authors only after they had received the accolade of a British or American publisher.

There are signs that this attitude has changed. Participation in two world wars gave Canadians greater self-confidence; a new and renewed sense of national identity and national pride was reflected in the ambitious publishing programs of the twenties and in the attempt to throw off "the halter of the agencies" in the sixties. But the cold economic facts of the native book publishing business curtailed the first and almost overwhelmed the second attempt to rely upon original Canadian publishing.

We have seen the steady rise of production costs, while the margin of profit, narrow at best, accumulates slowly over two or three years. Meanwhile designers, printers, and binders have to be paid. There is never enough working capital for experimental publishing, nor enough even to promote adequately what does get published. Yet the Canadian book must compete with highly advertised products from south of the border. Offered a choice between a much-heralded American best-seller and a Canadian book he has never heard about, the bookstore customer is not likely to base his choice upon patriotic impulse.

Foreign books cannot and should not be excluded from Canada; they can, in fact, make original Canadian publishing possible, as we have seen. But this depends in large measure upon the initiative of the native Canadian publishing house. It requires no great degree of cynicism to predict that if the day should come when

there remain no indigenous Canadian publishers to set the pace, foreign subsidiaries are likely to become more concerned with increased profits than with Canadian content.

It is therefore of vital importance in the national interest that Canadian publishing houses stay in business and not be picked off one by one by foreign interests. It is also important that Canadian subsidiaries of foreign-based publishing houses recognize, as the best of them do, an obligation to support and foster original Canadian publishing.

Few Canadians would advocate government ownership or control of an industry so vital to freedom of expression. The Queen's Printer, to be sure, has published from time to time a good many volumes that could fairly be classed as trade books. But this is a practice which the trade has quite understandably deplored as it poses problems of fair competition, of copyright, of discounts, and of distribution disruptive of normal trade practices.

But in other ways, both directly in the form of low-interest, long-term loans, and indirectly by helping to promote the export of Canadian trade books, and by exerting pressure upon institutions spending public funds to buy whenever it is practicable, through Canadian agents, government can come to the rescue of an important and highly sensitive Canadian industry.

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#### NOTES

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<sup>4</sup>James Douglas, Jr., "The Intellectual Progress of Canada During the Last Fifty Years, and the Present State of its Literature: An Address to the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, 3 March 1875," *Canadian Monthly*, v. 7 (1875), p. 468

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<sup>8</sup>See Gordon Roper, "Mark Twain and his Canadian Publishers: A Second Look," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Toronto*, V (1966), pp. 30-89

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<sup>15</sup>*The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs*, ed. J. Castell Hopkins (Toronto: The Annual Review Publishing Company, Ltd.), vols. for 1932, 1933

<sup>16</sup>John Gray, "English Language Publishing in Canada," *Canadian Library Association Bulletin*, 11, no. 6 (1955), p. 294

<sup>17</sup>B. Stuart-Stubbs, *Purchasing and Copying Practices at Canadian University Libraries . . .* (Ottawa: Canadian Association of College and University Libraries, 1971), p. 23

<sup>18</sup>Lorne Pierce, *House of Ryerson*, p. 50

<sup>19</sup>*Toronto Daily Star*, 2 November 1970

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# *Developments in Canadian Book Production and Design*

C. J. EUSTACE

Although the history of printing in general in North America, and specifically in Canada, is by now reasonably well documented, an authoritative history of Canadian book production remains to be written. The very late flowering of the book manufacturing industry in Canada, and the comparatively new developments in Canadian book design, can best be understood in historical context. The same difficulties that have plagued Canadians in so many other enterprises – the size of the country, the small and scattered population, the specialized areas to be served – remain as general obstacles, but in the case of the small Canadian book manufacturing industry they are compounded with other factors. Among these are the huge importations of American and British books, the omnipresence of American communications, the multilingual nature of the Canadian peoples, and not least the inhibiting and suspicious interrelationships of wholly-owned Canadian publishers, publisher-agents representing foreign publishers, and foreign-owned subsidiaries – all of which have combined to inhibit the development of the craft of book design and production.

## PRINTING COMES TO CANADA

The first book production in North America took place in Mexico City in 1540, under the imprint of Juan Cromberger. The latter was a printer of Seville who established a North American branch under the management of one Juan Pablos, who thus became this continent's first printer. Almost a century passed before Stephen Daye, an English printer, set up the first printing shop in British North America at Harvard College, using a press that was brought from England in 1638. On this crude machine 1,700 copies of what is now known as "The Bay Psalm Book" were printed. Aegidius Fauteux, the printing historian, referred to this book as "of poor appearance and miserable typography."



Thereafter followed a succession of printers and of books, and a spreading of the printing craft in and around Boston and Philadelphia. The early printers did not always receive a very good reception, and relied chiefly upon the patronage of the governing body and the church. Nevertheless, by the middle of the eighteenth century printing was firmly established in Pennsylvania, New York, Virginia, and Massachusetts. The seething political climate of the times helped it to spread north.

In 1749 the British undertook extensive settlement in Halifax, and this brought seasoned colonials from New England to the Canadian province. Amongst the several artisans attracted to Nova Scotia was Bartholomew Green, Jr., a grandson of the Samuel Green of the Bay Psalm Book. Unfortunately he died in 1751, but one of his partners, John Bushell, arrived in Halifax to carry on the business, and on 23 March 1752 issued the first number of the *Halifax Gazette*. Thus, American influence made itself felt early in the history of the printing industry in Canada. Twelve years later the first press was established in Quebec, and twelve years after that, in 1776, printing began in Montreal. The official *Upper Canada Gazette, or American Oracle* was founded by the newly-created King's Printer in Newark (now Niagara-on-the-Lake) in 1793, initiating printing in this province.

No valid distinction existed between printers and publishers for almost half a century. Pioneer printers assumed the roles of editor, publisher, distributor, stationer, and bookseller combined. Typical products were a four-page weekly news-sheet, business and legal forms, handbills and broadsides, almanacs, theological tracts, and brochures on agriculture and animal husbandry. Only a few full length books were printed and published – mostly ecclesiastical treatises, some legal tomes, a few school texts, and government documents. Among the earliest were a Roman Catholic catechism and an ABC primer published by William Brown and Thomas Gilmore in Quebec City in the 1760s, and the *Nova-Scotia Calender, or an Almanack*, published annually from 1770 by Bushell's successor in Halifax, Anthony Henry, an early "trade" title.

For some years Kingston was the most literate centre in Upper Canada. There in 1822 John Neilson set up an independent establishment for law book printing which branched into other areas of book publishing in English and French. In 1826 he issued the first general history of Canada in the English language, *History of Canada From Its First Discovery to the Peace of 1763*. The first Canadian novel, *St. Ursula's Convent, or The Nun of Canada*, was published in 1824 by another Kingston printer, Hugh C. Thomson. By the mid-1830s, however, Toronto had taken the English-language publishing lead from Kingston, and eventually from Montreal.

In many respects the first books published, judging by their appearance, were missionary efforts rather than finished products. What printers knew of bookmaking was obtained second-hand. All equipment – type, presses, paper, and binding equipment – was brought from outside. The designs strictly followed the tradition of English bookmaking, even to the use of the same types and spacing conventions.

Most – although not all – the early books were shoddily executed, and only a few showed any signs of craftsmanship.

The first printers used wooden presses with screws for applying pressure, not unlike the old cheese presses on which Gutenberg had modeled his machine. Type was laboriously handmade, imported from England, and used till worn out. Paper was made from rags, which themselves were relatively scarce, and so was in short supply and expensive. Printing ink was often homemade. Each impression required thirteen distinct operations, beginning with the wetting of the paper, and was a back-breaking job. Because of the limitations of the press, only a small area of type could be printed at any one time. Output was therefore low. But improvements came rapidly around the beginning of the nineteenth century, including mechanical production of paper, development of stronger metal printing presses that used lever action for pressure, stereotyping, machine founding of type, and by about 1830 machine binding.

Of the metal presses, the first was the Stanhope, followed by the Columbian and the Washington. The latter was invented in 1829, the year the Ryerson Press was founded. Egerton Ryerson went to New York to buy its first press, which is said to have been a Washington; if this is true, it would have been a very recent innovation in the printing trade. Mackenzie also used a Washington to print the *Colonial Advocate*. There is little indication of the extent to which Canadian printers in general benefited from cheaper paper, type, and other materials, but it does seem that the impact of new technology must have reached Canada quite soon after the eastern United States.

In the early 1840s James Evans, a Methodist missionary, embarked upon a unique printing project. Most of his parishioners were Cree Indians, who had no written language. He first devised for them an “alphabet” based on a syllabic system of geometric forms, and then produced books in this language by a crude form of letterpress. Legend has it that he melted down bullets and the lining of tea chests to cast type, and printed on birch bark using ink made from kerosene soot. Whatever the method, he produced a Cree spelling book in Manitoba in 1840, and was rewarded for his perseverance by being given permission to order a press and paper from England.

By the middle of the nineteenth century there were further technological advances in printing with the introduction of steam power, and the invention of the cylinder press in 1844. This new equipment was used earlier in London and New York, and principally for newspaper printing, but seems to have reached Canada around 1860. By the late 1880s, the Ryerson Press had in its plant two perfecting presses, six cylinder presses, and three job work presses; later in the century Ryerson was printing catalogues for Eaton’s, Simpson’s, and Butterick.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century book publishing in Canada developed as a separate operation from printing and bookselling. A few publishers main-

tained a printing plant as part of their operation, but even they continued to import most of their books from Britain, France, and the United States.

From the point of view of book design these early Canadian books were a hodge-podge of types, with the inside pages little better by today's standards than the title page. Because of the close ties with Britain and the old world at this stage, it is sometimes difficult to tell by appearance on which side of the Atlantic a book was printed. Some of the troubles of Canadian book production undoubtedly lay with the apprentice system. Competent teachers were scarce: apprentices were handed a composing stick, shown how to set type by hand, or perhaps the rudiments of operating a linotype or a platen press, and that was about all. After that they were left very much on their own, with the result that book craftsmanship and design suffered. There seems also to have been a shortage of good illustrators and decorators, although their work was so badly reproduced in many instances that it would be difficult to make a positive judgment. In one area Canada did stand out, however. Stone lithography had a longer reign and developed into a more sophisticated and widely used craft here than it did in Europe, and this was reflected to some extent in book production as well as, for example, travel posters.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Canada, along with the rest of the world, was suffering extraordinary changes within society. The accelerated growth of mass education, the enormous success of periodical literature, and the gradual growth of printed advertising material all converged to create increased demands on the printing industry. A number of technological and mechanical improvements prepared the way for the great expansion of the graphic arts which took place during the early years of the twentieth century. Four-colour process printing and the use of halftones were by this time commercially practical; printing inks and papers were greatly improved; electrotyping was vastly improved; and the use of mechanical type composition (the linotype and monotype), together with faster presses, made possible the production of more books more economically. Early in the twentieth century high-speed automatic presses were invented. During the fifty years between 1885 and 1935 the graphic arts enjoyed the greatest technological progress since the days of Gutenberg.

Although this development greatly influenced Canadian printing at the time, it did not reflect itself directly in Canadian book production. This was due to certain inhibiting influences on the part of government, particularly that of Ontario, in the field of schoolbooks, which held back what might have been the natural growth of Canadian book production for almost three decades.

#### INHIBITING EFFECTS OF SCHOOLBOOK POLICIES

During the first thirty years of the twentieth century, the publication of schoolbooks became the chief occupation of those Canadian printers who were in a posi-



tion to produce them. The number and kinds of schoolbooks permitted in the schools were sharply limited and controlled by government, however. The single advantage of this policy was that it provided the bread and butter without which little trade publishing would have occurred.

Before the Upper Canada Education Act of 1846 a majority of the books used in Canadian schools were imported (mainly in duffle bags) from the United States.

It is melancholy to traverse the Province and go into many of the Common Schools [said Dr. Thomas Rolph in 1836 (quoted by H. T. J. Coleman in *Public Education in Upper Canada*, page 72)]. You will find . . . historical reading books describing the American population as the most free and enlightened under heaven; insisting on the superiority of their laws and institutions to those of all the world . . . and American spelling books, teaching subjects of the British Crown in anti-British dialect and idiom.

Lord Durham noted that books from the United States contained principles which, though "fit for dissemination under the form of Government which exists there, cannot be inculcated here without evil results." He recommended that schoolbooks be provided at a cheap rate from Great Britain. (Strangely enough a survey by Egerton Ryerson of British texts seems to have overlooked the element of Americanism.)

In 1846, the adoption of books for general use in the Common Schools of Upper Canada included thirty-one titles, said to be "the best textbooks published on the face of the earth," all issued by the Irish Board of Education. These Irish textbooks were used in Upper Canada for the next twenty-one years, when they were revised, and in 1868 authorized again until 1883.

Under Adam Crooks, who became in 1876 Ontario's first Minister of Education, the sources of textbooks were widened. Even so there was not much of a demand for Canadian schoolbooks, and as a sop to what demand there was imported schoolbooks were given a cosmetic Canadian colouring. The Canadian Readers were published by W. J. Gage & Company, but their "colouring" could not conceal their Scottish origin. The Royal Readers were published by James Campbell & Sons, and after a bitter publishers' battle were authorized, but the Royal Canadian Readers, which presumably were a Canadian adaptation of the original Royal Readers printed and published by the Canada Publishing Company, were not adopted. The American and foreign schoolbooks were never completely ousted, and have not been to this day. With the withdrawal of the Irish texts because of old age, American texts in fact enjoyed something of a revival, although they were given a tinge of the maple leaf to make them viable.

Adam Crooks began Circular 14 as a substitute for listings in *The Journal of Education*, the first regulations appearing in July 1877. The only authorized texts were those that appeared on the Circular's Schedule A, and their retail price was limited to the price shown on the schedule. Both certificate of authorization and scheduled price had to be shown on the title page. The texts were copyrighted by the Depart-



ment of Education, and permissions to print and publish them were available to the publishing and printing trade under \$4,000 bond to ensure quality and adherence to the regulations. Quality control was maintained by a strict code of production specifications. A Schedule B listed books for the use of teachers only, and these were prohibited from reaching the students' hands.

In 1883 George Ross replaced Adam Crooks as Minister, and commenced a narrowing of the textbook regime which was designed to lessen Ontario's dependence upon outside sources for its schoolbooks. The narrowing process took the form of increasing government influence in enforcing uniformity, and consequently more governmental control. The results were not entirely what might have been expected. For example, a series called The Ontario Readers, developed by liberal use of scissors and paste, were strikingly like the old Irish National Readers. The original publishers of the series were the W. J. Gage Company, the Canada Publishing Company, and Thomas Nelson & Sons (who sold their rights to the Copp Clark Company for \$30,000). The series was assailed in the newspapers; the textbook question triggered discussion by the press, the government, the public, and of course the opposition. Open quarrels amongst the publishers provided fuel for the fray, for the publishers had to fight tooth and nail for their share of the small spoils available.

Government policies regarding textbooks were summarized by Ross in a brochure issued under his authority entitled, *A Brief History of Public & High School Textbooks Authorised for the Province of Ontario, 1846-89, Prepared by the Department of Education*. These policies were as follows:

1. To cover the course of study in each subject by one textbook.
2. To control and regulate the price of textbooks.
3. To reduce the price should it appear to the Department that profits were excessive.
4. To keep up a high standard of binding and typography.
5. To encourage our teachers to undertake the authorship of all textbooks.
6. To manufacture all textbooks in the Province.
7. To prevent frequent changes by teachers and trustees.
8. To reduce the number of textbooks actually in use.

By today's pedagogical criteria and liberal textbook policies, the controls seem excessive. They were, however, effective at the time even if they did produce an oddly lopsided kind of education. As a result of them the forty-three textbooks authorized under Crooks dropped to nineteen. Five of these were readers for elementary schools, and seven were drawing books. The remaining seven were made up of one book per subject for all four public school forms – in arithmetic, geography, grammar, history, temperance, agriculture, and music.

The Canada Publishing Company produced five of the last seven books plus the drawing books; the Grip Publishing Company produced the temperance texts; Copp Clark printed the history; and the Ontario Readers, as noted, were manufac-

tured under licence from the Department of Education by the Canada Publishing Company, W. J. Gage, and Copp Clark. Thus of the eight publishing companies operating at this time four had cornered the great public school market of 405,000 children. The other publishers had to exist on the meagre pickings left over in the high schools. In those days the grade nine enrolment was estimated as only 10,000 students.

Restrictive textbook policies remained in force until the 1920s and almost forced Canadian publishers into intellectual and commercial bankruptcy. Under them there was practically no schoolbook publishing. Textbook publishing became, in fact, textbook manufacturing. Those publishers who possessed manufacturing facilities had to compete, by tender, with large mail-order houses whose presses normally lay idle during the printings of summer and winter catalogues. In 1909 one large mail-order house manufactured and distributed 509,000 such readers; they were poorly produced, their chief characteristic being dullness of appearance and content – apart from the frontispiece, which carried in full colour the Union Jack with the motto, “One Flag, One Throne, One Fleet.”

With government subsidy a youngster could buy a reader for four cents, and a drawing book for two cents. But the cost of the program was far greater than the dollars and cents of subsidization. It inhibited the development both of editorial departments in publishing houses capable of generating new Canadian books, and of manufacturing facilities geared specifically to the needs of book production.

It may be asked what the rest of the country was doing for schoolbooks during this period. The answer is that only the Ontario market made Canadian textbook production possible. Sales of schoolbooks to the English-speaking Protestant school boards in Quebec were negligible, nor could the other provinces provide an adequate base. All of them depended to varying degrees upon Ontario schoolbooks. In 1897 Manitoba used eighteen Ontario texts, British Columbia six, and New Brunswick eleven; Nova Scotia used only the drawing books. The remaining textbooks they needed were imported either from Great Britain or the United States.

By the early 1920s social conditions were changing in the West. Publishers sent textbook managers and editors by train to visit western departmental officials and teachers, who gave them a glad welcome. The price advantage of educationally-outmoded Ontario texts could no longer justify their use, and the teaching profession, both in eastern Canada as well as in the West, went to work to write their own books. The scissors-and-paste tradition lived on for a brief while, for it was the easiest method for a publisher to make a profit. But the journeyings abroad of Canadian educational officials and teachers, especially to American and European institutions of higher learning, brought to this country new ideas in educational methodology and content. By about 1930 the rest of English-speaking Canada had almost entirely shaken off its dependence upon Ontario for textbooks.

In 1937 came the revision of curricula in Ontario which resulted in new courses

of study based upon "activity" or "experience." These new courses were designed to encourage children to learn and think for themselves, to ask questions, discover problems, and seek solutions. But where were the books which could support such a program? Government monopoly and the narrowing of curricula had discouraged publishers from producing such variety. The existing books were either written by oldsters commissioned by the Department of Education, or came in a trickle from other countries.

A reversal of schoolbook policy followed almost as a matter of course. At first, there being few Canadian-produced textbooks, a great influx of U.S.-written and produced textbooks began. By 1945 many U.S. schoolbook publishers had entered into arrangements with Canadian agents for representation in Canada. Even as late as 1950 most Canadian children were learning to read from slightly Canadianized American readers. Only one province did not use arithmetic texts adapted from U.S. sources. In elementary or high school most Canadian children were learning to use American "English."

No reliable statistics appear to be available of the proportions of U.S. to Canadian texts used from 1945 to 1950, but a survey of provincial authorizations suggests that at least sixty per cent of all textbooks used in Canadian schools were either U.S. texts or Canadian adaptations of U.S. texts. In the university field the figures would have been nearer to eighty-five per cent.

Nevertheless, the reversal of the old textbook policies in Ontario, first by Duncan MacArthur in 1937 and twelve years later under Dana Porter as Minister of Education, breathed new life into the schoolbook industry, and into Canadian publishing generally. Ministerial strictures of uniformity gradually were lifted in the other provinces as well. Although a considerable amount of Canadian book production occurred during the years 1945-50, the full effect was not felt until the 1950s when increasing populations in each province stimulated Canadian educationists to write their own textbooks. Soon afterwards Canadian publishers had more cash to spend on manufacturing their own textbooks. And as the production and manufacture of Canadian books increased, printers commenced to spend more money on much-needed machinery and equipment with which to meet the new and sudden demand for their services.

#### BOOK PRODUCTION BY PUBLISHER-AGENTS, 1920-45

Although the long hiatus in Canadian schoolbook production set back the Canadian book manufacturing industry many years, it must not be assumed that on Canadian-produced books at all were manufactured during that period. A number of Canadian-owned publishing houses, some of them possessing their own printing plants, had been in existence for quite a number of years before the government strictures on text publishing, and had managed to survive those difficult times, and



even to prosper slowly on their own initiative. Much of their economic strength came from activity as agents for British and U.S. publishers, a role that began to develop about the turn of the century.

The Ryerson Press, by far the oldest of the Canadian publishing houses, with its own printing plant and bindery for book production, had been founded in 1829. Copp Clark and W. J. Gage were founded in 1869 and 1880 respectively, and the Musson Book Company in 1891. George J. McLeod Company and Thomas Allen Limited, established in 1898 and 1901 respectively, acted as agents for both British and U.S. publishers. All these firms manufactured some books for the Canadian market, chiefly reprints of best-selling British and American authors which were printed in Canada from plates owned by the originating publisher and sold here under the imprint of the agent. McClelland and Stewart Limited, which was founded in 1906, Ryerson, Copp Clark, Musson, and Gage also manufactured original Canadian editions of books written by Canadians.

Few statistics are available of the size of these printings, and none of the total volume of Canadian books produced at this time. But some interesting facts have survived. The average printing run for a novel written and produced in Canada was 2,000 copies, and, for example, in 1924 *Hansen*, a novel by the Toronto *Star's* literary critic, Augustus Bridle, was printed in Canada at a unit cost of 92.5 cents and sold at a list price of \$2.00. Bertram Brooker was author of the *Yearbook of the Arts in Canada*, of which 1,000 copies were printed at a unit cost of \$1.92; the book was sold for \$5.00 (a high price then, even for a lavishly illustrated book). Printing runs of as low as 1,000 copies were not unusual, and it was not until the 1940s that larger printings became more common. By the 1950s runs of from 7,500 to 10,000 were becoming more frequent, especially for schoolbooks.

Both McClelland and Stewart and the Macmillan Company of Canada produced a considerable number of trade books written by Canadians during the 1920s, a period when Canadian writers seemed to become more articulate. In 1921 Bliss Carman's *Later Poems* was reprinted four times, the runs being probably around 2,000 copies at each printing. During this decade McClelland and Stewart published books by Marjorie Pickthall (her *Legends of Vancouver* appeared in 1922 and was reprinted nine times), Donald French, Ralph Connor, and L. M. Montgomery, all produced in Canada with relatively short runs. By contrast, Stewart Wallace's *First Book of Canadian History*, a school text, was printed in Canada in a first edition of 50,000 copies in 1928; it cost 21.23 cents a copy, paid a 10 per cent royalty to the author, and sold for 50 cents a copy. The *Ontario High School Botany* was printed in 1922 in an edition of 10,000 copies at a cost of 23.75 a copy; on royalty was paid, and it was sold at \$1.00 a copy. In 1946 school readers were being printed in quantities of 50,000 copies at a unit cost of 42.89 cents, and sold for \$1.00; in 1949 Ontario spellers (smaller books than readers) were printed in quantities of from 20,000 (unit cost 30.75 cents) to 50,000 copies (unit cost 26.5 cents).



Within the last twenty years book manufacturing costs have doubled and even trebled despite the fact that nearly all Canadian suppliers of Canadian-manufactured books have greatly improved their technology.

#### CANADIAN BOOK MANUFACTURING FACILITIES IN THE POSTWAR EXPANSION

The expansion in Canadian book production began in 1948-9, and has continued almost without let-up to the present day. Not only were Canadian publishers unprepared in many ways for this boom; the manufacturers were equally deficient in the variety of typefaces they had available, in the capacity of their presses to turn out vastly larger quantities of books than had been printed in the past, and especially in their bindery equipment.

Well established Canadian book manufacturers – the Hunter-Rose Printing Company, founded in 1860, and T. H. Best Printing Company, founded in 1893 – were using flat-bed letterpress equipment with linotype setting and a minimum selection of typefaces. Binding was still partly a hand operation involving largely unskilled female labour. Best had not ventured substantially into book production until about 1920 (although they had previously produced many small editions of trade books by best-selling British or American authors, usually binding imported sheets), but at that point Macmillan persuaded them to print the newly-authorized Canadian Readers – using flat-bed letterpress to complete runs of 100,000 each in four colours! Apparently they were employing much the same technology a quarter century later. The Ryerson Press, Copp Clark, and W. J. Gage, publishers, manufactured books but none of them was prepared for the revolution in production caused by the introduction of offset lithography in one and more colours. John Deyell Limited had been in the hardbound book manufacturing business since their incorporation in 1930.

The industry had been searching for a good forty years for ways to increase productive capacity using the standard flat-bed letterpress. Larger flat-bed perfecting presses had been introduced, but with somewhat indifferent results. Automatic feeders had been invented, but many of these exceeded the speed of the presses to which they were attached. Printers were asking themselves, What is the next step? Larger presses? Greater speed? They considered the rotary letterpress, long common in newspapers, but not economical for book runs of fewer than 25,000 copies.

Offset lithography had been invented, and it was realized that great possibilities lay ahead for this method of printing which was faster and had special advantages in reproducing illustrations. But it was felt that book work demanded a certain quality of inking and reproduction – standards which the “type work” of litho presses at that time did not regularly meet. Progress was made, however, in lithographic reproduction with the invention of new machinery and in the engineering particularly of platemaking operations. The introduction of plastics, new metals,

new metal alloys, instrumentation and control techniques, and suitable papers, brought changes that improved both printing quality and the life of printing plates.

In 1945 Copp Clark used a litho press for book work, as well as for other types of commercial printing, but it was not altogether satisfactory. Best and Hunter-Rose both also ventured into the litho field for the printing of sheets for hardbound books between 1946 and 1950, but bought the printing outside their own plants. By that time the schoolbook field presented a number of opportunities for long printing runs, and offset lithography became practicable. However, the established plants possessing complete book production facilities were slow in shifting from letterpress. Publishers, anxious to find expanded manufacturing facilities in the early days of the book production boom (1949-59), were forced to order printing from firms which possessed litho presses but no binding equipment. The printers in turn made themselves responsible for having the sheets bound elsewhere – and the potential for disrupted schedules, given divided responsibilities, turned many a hair grey. It was not until the middle 1950s that book manufacturers introduced offset equipment into their plants, and even then only small one-colour presses; but by 1958 several book manufacturers were in the process of converting from letterpress. This involved not only a considerable capital investment but also the training of competent personnel to run the newer and larger offset presses. The change, once begun, however, revolutionized the industry. One printer interviewed estimated that Canadian book output today is roughly five to one by offset lithography over letterpress.

Nevertheless many book manufacturing plants still use letterpress for smaller runs, of 2,000 copies or under. The average minimum economic run by offset lithography is between 2,500 and 3,000 impressions, but 4,000 impressions is a more desirable minimum. The average Canadian book run today, including both trade and educational books in a single average, is on the lower side of 4,000 copies. A few Canadian printers have web presses, on which for extra speed the paper is fed in huge continuous rolls rather than individual sheets; the minimum economical run for these used to be 25,000 copies, but web presses are now sometimes used for runs of 10,000 impressions, or even less.

Only a few Canadian paper mills made book papers before the 1940s. Feather-weight and Antique book papers had however been made for some time at the mills of both the Provincial Paper Company in Georgetown and the Howard Smith Paper Company in Cornwall. By 1951 considerable experimentation had taken place on book papers, and new sheets were being developed by Canadian papermakers suitable for lithography. A few years later, new titanium-filled sheets had been developed especially for book production, and new machinery was introduced following U.S. standards for paper manufacture. The new machines at first resulted in overproduction of newsprint, bond papers, and book papers. A decreasing market for newsprint in the United States, following the discovery of a method

to produce newsprint from resinous woods grown in the southern states, has led Canadian producers to pay more attention during the past decade to the comparatively small, competitive, but growing market for Canadian book papers.

#### NEW TECHNOLOGY

During the 1960s book production by Canadian manufacturers expanded greatly. In retrospect, some book manufacturers now feel that although business then was good, there were too many people in it, especially too many printers who had no facilities for book production other than presses. In those companies whose predominant business was complete book manufacture, neither presses nor binderies were working at capacity.

By this time most Canadian plants had added to their bindery capability by including automated and semi-automated processes for hardbound, Smythe-sewn, McCain-sewn, saddlebound, and adhesive-bound books. Three-knife trimmers had been introduced about 1948. With the advent of perfect-binding equipment and the development during the late 1960s of hot-melt adhesives or thermal-setting materials, a number of further improvements were incorporated. The elimination of sewing in paperbound and hardbound books significantly reduces costs. Current developments (roundable hot melts) make rounded and backed perfect-bound books a reality. The cost of making books can be especially reduced in the bindery by utilizing such new materials for limp-covered as opposed to hardbound books. Most plants with binding equipment are aware of this opportunity for innovation and experimentation and some are initiating experiments in this field.

There are other developments away from the Smythe-sewn, rounded and backed, hardbound book. For example, three-piece board cases are being made, with endpapers applied using cold-emulsion glues, or even hot melts. Such technology has been employed successfully during the past three years. A good output of bound books (calculated on the basis of binding on single shift) would be from 15,000 to 20,000 casebound books a day.

The move to adhesive (perfect) binding has brought considerable change in emphasis in the trade. Strongly bound papercover books are gradually taking the place of conventional hardbound books; in other words, there has been a notable increase in the growth of adhesive-bound (or sewn, with paper covers hung on) books as opposed to casebound. The output of one book manufacturing plant shows this change:

	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971 (to Oct.)</u>
Casebound	1,506,000	2,407,000	2,303,000	2,344,000	1,404,000	1,035,000
Paperbound or papercovered	659,000	1,465,000	1,600,000	1,759,000	1,886,000	1,924,000

The paperbound books include both saddlestitched and adhesive-bound, but the trend is distinct, and the statistics of other houses confirm it.



Other trends also may be traced. Book manufacturers were asked to state in which area of publishing – trade and general books, schoolbooks, or books for colleges and university – had occurred their greatest expansion during the past decade, and during the past two years. The answers indicated that from 1960 to 1966 schoolbooks constituted the largest category numerically of books manufactured by Canadian plants. Since 1967 there has been a distinct decrease in the proportion of schoolbooks to trade and general books, and in some cases a sharp increase in the number of books for universities. All the manufacturers queried reported that the distinction between trade, educational, and general books seems to have become more and more blurred. This is not surprising because the new pedagogical philosophy presupposes an abundance of resource and supplementary material: the old authorized textbook has largely disappeared. All printers reported a drop in what used to be called “educational business,” which consisted largely of elementary and high school books which ran, and re-ran, for years. All reported also an upsurge in “other books,” which might include directories, catalogues, and paperbound trade-cum-educational books, some published by small publishers who did not exist five years ago.

Among the other technological innovations that book manufacturing plants have added are complete preparation and camera departments for the making of film and plates for lithographic printing. Costs, however, appear to vary greatly for these services. Many publishers like to obtain competitive prices from small firms outside the book industry for this part of their preparation and plant costs. The underlying problem which has prevented some book manufacturing plants from putting in their own camera departments has been the considerable overhead – both in machine and personnel – involved, and the fear that such a department might not be kept fully busy.

The new technology has also had its impact in the realm of typesetting. There has been a shift from hot-metal setting to photosetting by devices of various kinds. The new machines, through the exposure of light-sensitive materials, produce directly either a positive reproduction copy of the text, or the film required for making lithographic printing plates. Conventional photosetting machines, such as Photon, Fototronic, or the newer Variable Input Photosetter (vip), have been used for some time to set the type for book work. Computers are now being used to direct conventional photosetting machines in what is commonly called “computerized setting” but is more accurately “computer-assisted typesetting.” There has been amongst a number of printing plants a significant upgrading of computer equipment and installations primarily for dealing with printed material that has to be manipulated and updated. Directories, price guides, etc., lend themselves very much to this type of operation, and it would seem that the point is being approached, long considered in theory, where the inputting to a data bank will be carried out by the publisher or someone else other than the manufacturer.



To date there has been a high mortality among computer installations, probably caused by the problems that arise when companies jump too fast into a field for fear of losing the lead to competitors. Any publishing company which has attempted computerized billing and distribution will be familiar with the types of problem that arise, owing chiefly to inexperience on the part of those responsible for directing the operation. Although the new machines can, when expertly operated, undoubtedly cut costs, they also raise new problems.

An extraordinary development is the Videocomp, a highly sophisticated computerized photosetting machine which utilizes a cathode ray tube (CRT) for image production at a prodigious speed, some 5,000 to 8,000 characters a second, the actual output being regulated by the speed of the computer. But for all these machines it is necessary for the directing human element to sit at the input end and tap out the characters by hand. Complete optical scanning is probably still some years away, and may not ever arrive. Yet one printer estimated that a single Videocomp might be capable, if properly operated, of handling the total typesetting needs of this continent.

CRT setting requires an enormous amount of production if it is to be competitive. For example, the U.S. and Canadian governments might have a potential use for it in printing Hansard, or the Bell Telephone for its directories. The Southam Press (using a Photon) have recently completed printing the Revised Statutes of Ontario, which also involved a vast amount of storage to be manipulated. Alphatext of Ottawa have an Alphanumeric CRT but won't be able to assess its success until after a few years' experience. One of the largest pioneers in the CRT field, the Radio Corporation of America, has just ceased making further Videocomps because they do not believe the machine has the profit potential for which they were looking as manufacturers. The same is true, in a modified sense, of other less ambitious computer installations. While computer-assisted typesetting is well entrenched in reality, it is still fraught with many problems and variables.

The equipment used by Canadian book manufacturers comes either from the United States or from Europe. Nearly all the technical advances referred to in this paper were developed and introduced in countries other than Canada. Most Canadian book manufacturers keep abreast of foreign technology, however, either by personal visits to machinery displays in other countries, or from published technological data on new machines and processes. In this sense, new technology is available simultaneously in Canada with its discovery abroad.

Canada has not demonstrated any technological leadership in book manufacturing for at least two good reasons. One is lack of research facilities, the other shortage of development capital to explore new technical processes. In the United States, considerable research has been sponsored financially by the federal government and even by book publishers. There does not appear to be any such assistance here, nor any research activity into book manufacturing.

The majority of Canadian publishers, whether foreign-owned or Canadian-owned, are Canadian-oriented, and prefer to deal with Canadian book manufacturers whenever they can. Nevertheless some of these firms, including fully Canadian-owned firms such as McClelland and Stewart, find it necessary at times, chiefly for economic reasons, to go abroad for their printing. Foreign competition, although not nearly as major or as significant as it was even ten years ago, is still a factor and in this sense constitutes a mild threat to the future of the Canadian book manufacturing industry. The Ernst & Ernst report on the Canadian book industry indicated, however, that of eight American manufacturers interviewed, none claimed to be active in the Canadian market, and none reportedly planned to become active. It must be concluded therefore that Canadian publishers are at present the initiators in seeking U.S. bids for some of their work. One Canadian book manufacturer was very outspoken about foreign competition, claiming that a number of recent books, published in Canada and written by Canadians, had been printed outside Canada. His chief complaint seemed to be that no opportunity had been given Canadian manufacturers to bid, and thus an image detrimental to Canadian manufacturers was being created.

In any search for business beyond their own borders, Canadian book manufacturers are restricted from competing in their most natural foreign market, the United States, by that country's legislation. The manufacturing provisions in the U.S. Copyright Act are an extremely effective non-tariff barrier which denies a considerable potential of book work to Canadian firms. Limited to its own smaller market, the Canadian industry is too diversified and too small to standardize certain areas of specialized book manufacturing. To take one example, Canadian plants would find it difficult, if not impossible, to support a fully automated 6 x 9 inch plant, even if the Canadian automated line were to consist of the same machinery, or even better, than its U.S. counterpart. There is simply not enough work to support such an installation. U.S. plants benefit from much larger printing runs. Edwards Brothers, of Ann Arbor, Michigan, for example, specializes in producing books of this size, and through this standardization can manufacture both original books and reprints at prices ten to fifteen per cent below Canadian manufacturers, although the percentages may differ according to variables such as shipping charges.

A joint committee of the Canadian graphic arts industries has been working actively to secure relief from the U.S. manufacturing provisions for Canadian firms. Many dedicated Canadians have committed themselves to this work. Should they succeed and the manufacturing provisions disappear, there would be for the first time an incentive for Canadian book concerns to modernize and improve their technology so that they can be competitive on a continental basis.

Apart from the obstacles set up by U.S. legislation, it is by no means certain, however, that Canadian book manufacturers, as they are presently constituted, could

compete successfully with their American counterparts. Experienced plant superintendents interviewed on this subject differed in their views, but those who had had actual experience in comparing Canadian with U.S. prices seemed to feel that competition might be difficult. Besides the cost differential, there seemed to be (in their experience) a difference in work habits and work attitudes to the detriment of the Canadians. While this is a generalization, and should be taken only as such, some superintendents felt that skilled British printing artisans especially had been affected adversely by their experience with trade unionism in Great Britain. They and other Canadians seemed to respect management decisions less than their American counterparts, and showed less concern about meeting production quotas. (Not all Canadian book plants are unionized. One of the completely integrated book plants remains a family business which has always resisted signing a union contract; another large Canadian book plant paid union wages but had not as this was written signed a union contract. This applies also to some plants not engaged completely in book work.)

Most Canadian manufacturers prefer to set their own quality controls, rather than follow certain standardized procedures recommended by the U.S. Book Manufacturers Institute (BMI). All Canadian book manufacturers interviewed were willing and anxious to experiment with new materials and procedures, but felt that they would prefer to set their own standards competitively. In fact, although most Canadian book manufacturers can keep pace with U.S. technology, they felt that decisions regarding development of their own production facilities must be prompted more by their individual competitive positions within Canada than by any desire to compete with American printers. Some felt that American BMI standards tended to be influenced by pressure groups.

In general, only a small fraction of books bought in Canada are printed and bound here. In 1969, when the Canadian book industry might be said to have come of age, nearly ninety per cent of all books on the shelves of the more than seven hundred public libraries across the country were still either published or manufactured outside Canada.

By the late 1960s a number of new and smaller publishing houses were starting to produce and publish books by Canadian writers – among them New Press, the House of Anansi, Oberon Press, Coach House Press, and others. A number of their books were being composed on an IBM Selectric typewriter or some other “strike-on” composing machine, and perhaps printed on a multilith press. This move towards a more economic technology is a trend which the Canadian manufacturers do not completely ignore. Their attitude, as expressed by one large firm interviewed on the subject, is one of tolerant hope that such young firms will gradually move towards a realization that more sophisticated technology will result in a better-looking product. But it is equally true that books set by “typewriter” are becoming more numerous in the lists of some of the largest Canadian publishers.



As a contrast, Canadian private presses – among them the Martlet Press, Aliquand Press, Roger Asham Press, Klanak Press, Alcuin Society, and Heinrich Heine Press – continue to issue books which are usually excellent and even outstanding in design and production. Some of these private presses are conducted by professional designers or gifted amateurs, but they are unlikely ever to exert more than a marginal influence on the Canadian publishing scene. Their publications remain largely unknown, unpublicized, or limited to at most two or three books a year.

A substantial segment of book manufacturing is initiated by the vigorous Canadian university presses, which issue a steady stream of scholarly books. Not all their books are printed in Canada: here, as elsewhere, it is often more economical, and in some cases essential, to manufacture outside Canada and in co-operation with other presses abroad. But most Canadian university press books are printed in this country. The largest and oldest of the fraternity in Canada is the University of Toronto Press, which was started by that university as a small printing operation in 1901, and now is the most prolific publisher of Canadian books with roughly one hundred new titles per year, many of them produced in its own plant. This printing plant has also served for a number of years as a national centre for hot-metal composition of mathematical, scientific, and specialized material. Most of the binding is done outside the plant. The other major Ontario university presses are McGill-Queen's University Press and les Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa; neither of these has any significant book manufacturing capability.

Law book publishing is responsible for another substantial part of the Canadian book manufacturing industry. Although mostly owned by U.S. or British principals, the three of four Canadian law book publishing concerns are staffed by Canadians and print their own publications, both hardbound books and wirebound reports, which are manufactured in large and continuing quantities. These firms all pursue their own editorial policies without interference from their foreign-owned principals, and all appear to be in a healthy profitable position.

The fully integrated British Columbia plant is from ten to fifteen per cent more expensive than its eastern Canadian counterpart. As a fairly accurate generalization this does not, however, leave the eastern book manufacturers in an entirely enviable position since the B.C. government prefers to use its own printers.

#### BOOK DESIGN

At the end of the 1940s Canadian publishers, whose manufactured products at that time were only poor counterparts of the books they were importing from the United States and Great Britain, had second thoughts about the craft of book production and decided to pay some attention to design. By the early 1950s three publishers had book designers on their staff. These people worked in isolation, with little encouragement, and with no collective voice. But they sowed the first seeds,



which were soon to bear fruit. At this time high standards of design were being reached in the allied graphic arts and in the visual applied arts – especially in the advertising field, in the periodical press, and in the animated cinematography of the National Film Board in Ottawa.

Perhaps the first of the new wave of book designers was Frank Newfeld, an English immigrant who opened shop as a freelance designer-illustrator late in 1954. He had plenty of scope. In that year the *Manchester Guardian* remarked editorially, "In the National Book League Show, the Canadian entry is in dullness second only to the books of the Soviet Union." Newfeld's persistence as a freelance won him assignments and he proceeded to show what could be done with the resources available. In the years following 1954, McClelland and Stewart, who (along with Ryerson and Dent) had used J. E. H. MacDonald and his son Thoreau MacDonald to design books during the 1920s and 1930s, Oxford University Press, the Ryerson Press, and the University of Toronto Press, all of whom also had been always concerned in one way or another with the appearance of their books, produced some excellent Canadian-designed volumes.

In 1956 the Society of Typographic Designers of Canada was formed with a total membership of six. Lectures and seminars by this group did much to increase the awareness of publishers for the need to reform. By this time Carl Dair and Allan Fleming had returned from studies abroad, and these men with Newfeld, William Toye, Peter Dorn, Harold Kurschenska, Peter Moulding, Frank Davies, Robert Reid, and Leslie Smart have done much to influence the art of book design in Canada during the intervening years, as staff or freelance designers.

In 1958 *Typography* was organized and published jointly by the Typographic Designers of Canada and the Rolland Paper Company Ltd. Its avowed objectives were to help the publishers raise their standards by sponsoring an annual exhibition of Canadian-produced and designed work with awards for outstanding examples. A jury of experts was appointed annually to select the exhibits and make awards in the categories of Canadian book design, business printing design, and magazine design. In the first issue, 1958, the jury reported that "... of the 150 books submitted, only half bore the marks of good design, and very few were designed well from cover to cover. Often those suffered from some technical fault."

In 1959 the publishers' interest in the appearance and design of their Canadian-produced books had increased to such an extent that Pearl McCarthy, writing in the *Toronto Globe & Mail*, called typography "the liveliest art in Canada today." In 1966 the association changed its name to the Graphic Designers of Canada, to reflect the broader interests of its membership. There are at present in Canada no adequate facilities for formal education in this field, so many would-be book designers go abroad for their training. As this was written, the GDC had around seventy-five Toronto and sixty Montreal members, of whom possibly sixteen specialized in book design. A separate organization of book designers was being formed.

Every year since 1902 the American Institute of Graphic Arts has chosen on the basis of design and production the "Fifty Books of the Year." In 1968 a book designed and published by Canadians was among "the fifty" for the first time. It was, appropriately, *Design with Type*, written and designed by Carl Dair, the first Canadian typographer to win an international reputation, and was published by the University of Toronto Press. In 1970, the same press had four titles among the continent's best-designed fifty. It also won the only gold medal awarded at the Leipzig Fair of 1970 for "the most beautiful book in the world." The medal-winning volume, *Economic Atlas of Ontario / Atlas Economique de l'Ontario* (W. G. Dean, editor; G. J. Matthews, cartographer; and Allan Fleming, designer), is a show piece of Canadian production which demanded the highest quality of printing and binding. Thus in a few short years, through the application of a few dedicated and well-trained designers, Canada's book industry achieved international recognition for the capacity to manufacture outstandingly well designed and printed books.

Most of this progress took place between 1965 and 1970, the centennial year of 1967 giving particular impetus. *Canada, a Year of the Land*, published by the National Film Board that year, and designed by Allan Fleming, was a milestone in Canadian book craftsmanship. The Canada Council assisted by making grants to assist Canadian book designers to travel abroad. It was through such help that Carl Dair was able to study type design and punch-cutting in Holland, and presented to Canada in its centennial year his widely-acclaimed Cartier, the only Roman type-face ever designed and produced in Canada.

#### CANADIAN BOOK MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION

In 1953-4 a group of book manufacturers met for dinner at the call of Dr. C. H. Dickinson, Book Steward of the Ryerson Press, to discuss the need for a forum for the discussion of common problems. After a number of informal meetings, called usually to discuss some specific issue, the Canadian Book Manufacturers Institute became a member of the American BMI as a group. Membership was limited to companies which included all three departments of book manufacturing, that is, composing, printing, and binding. Nearly all eligible Canadian book manufacturers eventually became members, including two from Quebec, Harpell's of Gardenvale, and Villemarie Frères of Montreal. Evergreen Press of Vancouver joined early and retained membership until the CBMI changed its corporate structure. The acquisition by Pitman of both Hunter-Rose and Copp Clark reduced the numbers of members, however. The sale of their bindery by W. J. Gage, and the recent sale of their book plant by the Ryerson Press, reduced the membership still further.

The CBMI through the years accomplished a number of useful projects, and took part in many projects to strengthen the industry. Closer working relations were fostered between the Canadian publishers and the manufacturers of their books.

Some attempt was made to standardize specifications and methods by which publishers obtained quotations from manufacturers. The book manufacturing industry made a significant contribution to the government-sponsored Ernst & Ernst survey. Perhaps the CBMI's most important contribution was the support it gave to publishers and the initiatives it took itself, to seek relief from the manufacturing provisions of the U.S. Copyright Act. The financial support required for these projects probably became a deterrent, however, as the number of members declined and the costs to each remaining firm rose in proportion.

In 1971, the old CBMI was disbanded and a special-interest group of Canadian book manufacturers joined the Graphic Arts Institute Association under the new name of the Canadian Book Manufacturers Association. The objectives of this special-interest group remain more or less unchanged, namely to advance the welfare of the book manufacturing industry, and to foster understanding and co-operation among firms concerned with the manufacture and publishing of books in Canada. Membership is not however restricted to three-department companies.

#### SOME GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The real backbone of Canadian book manufacturing remains with the publishing "establishment" – both foreign- and Canadian-owned – which continues to produce and publish Canadian books in increasing quantities. Some of the firms issue only half a dozen Canadian titles a year, others up to one hundred new titles or more. There are indications that the public wave of Canadian nationalism, especially in connection with publishing, has persuaded some of the foreign-owned subsidiaries to increase their Canadian book production. Some of the old "establishment" firms such as McClelland and Stewart, Macmillan, Thomas Nelson & Sons, J. M. Dent & Sons, Oxford University Press, Clarke, Irwin & Company, and the Ryerson Press (now owned by McGraw-Hill), have always published and manufactured considerable numbers of Canadian books in this country. McGraw-Hill now is re-issuing seventy of the old Ryerson Canadian titles as reprints. The output of these firms, together with the production of a score of smaller publishing houses, augurs well for the future of the Canadian book manufacturing industry. But the Canadian book manufacturers have the capacity to produce still more books than they are being asked to.

Four major Canadian book manufacturers were questioned regarding the categories of books in which they had experienced the greatest expansion during the past decade. They were asked also to indicate whether the leading categories had changed during the past two years.

One manufacturer reported that books for colleges had had the greatest expansion in his experience during the past decade, followed by trade and general books, with schoolbooks third. However, during the past year or more the order had changed



and there had been a greater demand for trade and general books, with books for colleges second, and schoolbooks last. Another firm reported schoolbooks first, trade books second, and books for college third over the decade; but this order too had changed during the past year with Canadian-produced college books leading, schoolbooks second, and trade books third. Another plant reported that fifty per cent of its annual turnover was in hardbound books, and fifty per cent in paperbound; another ninety per cent in hardbound, and ten per cent in paperbound. From these figures it may be concluded, as one would expect, that the type of equipment possessed by an individual book manufacturing plant determines to some extent the kind of book it can produce best.

As was pointed out in the Ernst & Ernst report, *The Canadian Book Industry* (1970), excess manufacturing capacity has led to very competitive pricing. Publishers apply considerable pressure on manufacturers to reduce prices by seeking competitive bids on each of the various phases of book manufacturing. They then select the lowest bid on each phase rather than give the whole job to one integrated plant. This does not always result in a satisfactory product, and frequently leads to poor workmanship. Sometimes it does not even result in economy.

Some of the conclusions reached in the Ernst & Ernst statistical and economical analysis seem worth reiterating.

When asked if they thought that the Canadian government had "done enough" to stimulate growth in the book industry, three-quarters of the Canadian respondents felt that government encouragement has been insufficient. During the past five years a few new firms have entered the Canadian book manufacturing industry, but even today there seems to be only one fully integrated production plant that maintains itself on book production alone. Among six other firms capable of book production, the proportion of book to non-book production varied from 67 per cent to 25 per cent.

There would seem to be an adequate number of Canadian suppliers of machinery and equipment, paper, and other materials such as ink and plates. The single contribution of a Canadian firm in the field of research and development would seem to have been the pioneering of the belt press, the world rights for which have already been granted to a United States manufacturer. This new type of press, which prints from letterpress plates on a belt, is suitable for short runs although it requires a large annual number of impressions to utilize its capacity.

It would seem, from a comparison made in the survey between U.S. and Canadian book manufacturers, that in 1970 the Canadian group obtained 68 per cent of its revenue from offset or lithographic sales, which compares closely with the U.S. projected figure of 66 per cent for litho sales in the book industry in 1966. Canadian book manufacturers reported that the major type of printing equipment in use was sheet-fed offset, whereas (as would be expected because of their larger runs) the Americans reported web offset as their most important type of press.



The comparison between the longest, shortest, and average printing and binding runs on either side of the border is revealing. Paradoxically the averages are not as far apart as one might imagine. The American printers reported an average run of 22,500 books, contrasting with a group of Canadian firms that reported averages of 15,000 books for printing, and 13,500 for binding. However, few Canadian firms reported long runs above 60,000 books, whereas eight out of eight American firms reported long runs of between 100,000 and one million copies. Of eight Canadian firms, two reported binding runs of less than 40,000, and four reported printing runs of between 40,000 and 60,000. Seven of ten Canadian firms reported short runs of between 1,000 and 4,000, whereas no American firms reported runs of less than 4,000 (with the exception of small printings of special books below 1,000 copies, which were undertaken by both American and Canadian firms.)

Although the manufacturing cost of a book is higher in Canada than in countries such as England, Japan, and Italy, a few Canadian firms still felt that they might compete successfully with American suppliers in making books for the u.s. market, providing that they were free to do so. However, most Canadian book manufacturers felt that the price of producing the same book would be more in Canada than in the United States because of the larger runs possible in the United States. The price of typesetting in Canada is about the same as in the United States, but the price of Canadian paper is higher, and the range of paper grades offered to Canadian book manufacturers is inferior to the range available to a u.s. or British manufacturer.

Canadian manufacturers devoted to the production of books, hardbound or paperback, trade and educational, are certainly now capable of producing all the books needed by the industry for the domestic market and for export. The Ernst & Ernst report listed forty-five Canadian plants as capable of performing one or more functions of book manufacture. Of these, twenty-one were book publishers performing one or more of the book manufacturing functions, and fifteen were non-publishing book manufacturers capable of typesetting, printing, and binding in an integrated operation. Nine were commercial printers who performed one or other of the functions of book manufacture.

Book production is a highly technical and efficient manufacturing process, which demands skilled craftsmen and a high degree of responsibility. It is important that such operations have up-to-date equipment, and be continuously familiar with technological advances at home and in other countries. Considerable development capital is required of any book manufacturing plant which hopes to remain in the vanguard of the industry and to succeed in a highly competitive business. Despite such requirements, it can be said that book manufacturing in Canada has not lagged behind other branches of the graphic arts, and in some respects has been ahead of them.

The 1969 demand for books in Canada was estimated at \$222 million. Of this amount \$144.8 millions, or 65 per cent of the Market, were imported books; \$77.2

million or 35 per cent were of domestic production or manufacture. Book production in Canada, in comparison with other Canadian-manufactured products is only a small industry, but it is nonetheless an important one. In order for Canadian book manufacturers to have free access to the U.S. market, which is the most logical area for expansion, Canada would have to be exempted from the manufacturing provisions in the U.S. Copyright Act. It is by no means certain, even if this came to pass, that all the problems inherent in producing books for the small Canadian market would be solved. The Canadian book manufacturing industry suffers from the inevitable effect, to use Prime Minister Trudeau's phrase, of "sleeping with an elephant." Whether or not the industry can sleep alone in its own bed in the future, or whether in fact it should try to do so, is an open problem; but it is certainly going to be difficult for it to find another sleeping partner.

CECIL JOHN EUSTACE was, as a young man, editor of the trade journal, *Bookseller & Stationer*, and originator of Canada's first book club, run by the T. Eaton Company. In 1930 he joined J. M. Dent & Sons, Limited as assistant to the manager, later becoming field editor, a director, vice-president, and (in 1963, when the presidency of the firm was transferred from London to Canada) president. He retired in 1967. He is the author of three novels and six works of nonfiction.

# *On the Resources of Canadian Writing*

GEORGE WOODCOCK

We can endow scholarship, but for art we can only build a nest and pray that the phoenix will adopt it.

HERBERT READ: *The Forms of Things Unknown*

I

There is enough truth in Sir Herbert Read's cautionary statement to make one reject the suggestion that ease of publishing may produce a fine literature; on the other hand, the products of a fine literature rarely fail to find eventually their public, and there is a close relationship between publishing enterprises and the desire of writers to put their work into print. From the time of such pioneer ventures in Canada as John Sutherland's First Statement Press during the 1940s, Canadian writers – and poets especially – have set out to find the means of presenting their work to potential readers in circumstances where profit-oriented publishers have failed to do so, and perhaps we should amend Read's metaphor to give greater ornithological verisimilitude. We have yet to be told, after all, that the phoenix is a cuckoo. The legends mostly represent it as building itself the nest that will become its consuming and renewing beacon, and it seems evident that writers, when the materials are available, will build their own nests in default of other convenient habitation. The history of Canadian poetry ever since it gained a distinctive national character in the 1920s is intertwined with that of little magazines and little presses founded and operated by poets.

I make this point initially since I believe that in 1971 we do not have to search far beyond the record of works published (by commercial, academic, or amateur presses in Canada and abroad) to establish the extent of valid and publishable writing in Canada. There is a close relationship, as one studies the development over the past decade, between the total publication facilities available and the actual production of worthwhile books by writers. It is my impression, which I hope to sustain in the pages that follow, that in most fields of writing in Canada we do not have to stimulate the interest of publishers so much as to expand their resources to allow them to produce and distribute books more widely and efficiently, and to ensure that certain

classes of books that are now mostly published abroad can be repatriated to round out our publishing industry and in this way to strengthen the material foundations of our literary culture. Our main concern, I suggest, should not be with publishers but with writers, and with encouraging writers to develop alike their creative and their self-critical powers, not, as Read suggests, by any attempt at direct fertilization, but by creating a favourable ambience.

## 2

Perhaps very occasionally a true masterpiece still goes unrecognized by a succession of Canadian editors, and remains unpublished, but my own long experience in Canada as a critic and reviewer, as editor for more than twenty years of *Canadian Literature*, as an occasional reader for publishers and a regular adviser to the Canada Council on publication subventions, has led me to conclude that nowadays in this country this rarely happens. Except for the special field of drama, on which I shall comment later, I can think of no really good Canadian book in any genre that I have seen in manuscript during the past twenty years that has not eventually appeared in print (even though initial publication may have been abroad or – if in Canada – by one of those grey and smudgy methods of reproduction used by the more impecunious little presses). Canada has very few men of letters who live entirely by their writing, but it has equally few writers of merit who fail to achieve a readership running into at least the hundreds and a peripheral field of interest running – if one counts the poetry reading circuit – often into thousands.

On the other hand, my wide reading of Canadian books of every kind – and during the past decade there are few that have failed to pass through my hands as editor of *Canadian Literature* – has led me to the balancing conclusion that in Canada as elsewhere many works see print whose publication is only doubtfully justified, and many writers, at the most charitable estimate, face the world prematurely, a fair proportion because they are published by presses which they or their friends control. (This of course applies mainly to the little presses, which, however, have brought out the greater part at least of the poetry published in Canada during recent years).

Yet one must admit that even in terms of publishing disasters there has been a qualitative change during the past twenty years, and especially during the past decade. Far fewer books whose badness comes from conventionality and timidity now appear, and this alone is an improvement. The old guard of the Canadian Authors Association has been decimated by death, routed by age, and I can think of no publisher at present in business (except for a few “vanity presses” which capture Canadians but mostly operate from American soil or even from England) whose list, in terms of inept conservatism of taste, rivals that of the Ryerson Press at its nadir during the late 1950s. Undoubtedly this is because fewer examples of the kind of homespun autobiography and sentimental backwoods fiction, which Ryerson at its



worst so excessively encouraged, is now being written; readers and writers, as well as publishers, are losing the taste for it, though occasionally, in his vast list of titles, even Jack McClelland nods like Homer, and so, more often, do publishers less editorially conscious of the drift of the times, like Longman and Clarke, Irwin.

On the whole, however, the faults now tend, among writers, towards an experimental foolhardiness that often outruns talent; among editors towards a permissiveness that fails to provoke a writer into his best form; and among publishers towards a thirst for novelty, a restless neophilia, that can be just as detrimental to the critical sense, and so to the general quality of published writings, as a taste for safety and respectability was in the past. The decay of official and unofficial censorship has freed literature from persecution, but has not necessarily fostered its progress; there is evidence that at least a degree of conflict with the surrounding society can be beneficial. It is inconceivable, of course, that even twelve years ago a book like Leonard Cohen's *Beautiful Losers* could have been printed without expurgation by a commercial publisher in Canada or anywhere else except Sweden, and its un mutilated publication in 1966 was in a cultural sense a positive gain; but the gain is negated when publishers accept books regardless of their literary quality merely because they are sexually outspoken, for such daring can easily become another form of compulsive conventionality. One wonders often whether literature was not more honest in the days when Baudelaire and Flaubert published at the risk of prosecution, when Turgenev paid the price of exile to write as he wished, and when, on a lower level, the devotees of Joyce and Henry Miller showed the strength of their appreciation by defying the customs officers.

If it has become easier in Canada, both legally and commercially, to publish fiction and poetry no matter how conventionally unconventional, and easier also to publish books of local interest on history and current affairs, there are more general fields of history, biography, criticism, travel, social commentary, etc., where the interest is not specifically Canadian and here the writer may still find publishers in this country unresponsive. To quote my own experience, all but two of the seven books of *Canadian* history, travel, and criticism I have written during the past twenty years have been published initially in Canada; out of twelve books not specifically Canadian in orientation which I have completed during the same period, only one – a volume of verse – found a Canadian publisher, though the rest were placed abroad without difficulty and one of them ironically won a Governor-General's Award without being published in this country.

I do not think my experience has been unusual. Except for the University of Toronto Press and McGill-Queen's University Press, Canadian publishers are generally reluctant to undertake, outside the fields of poetry and fiction, the publication of books that do not have a specifically Canadian character; it is significant, as Robert Fulford has stressed, that trade publishers in Canada left it for a university press to bring out Marshall McLuhan's first important book.

In this respect Canadian writers in recent years have generally been more adventurous than Canadian publishers, for, as I shall suggest when I discuss more specifically such fields as history and literary criticism, they have ventured boldly and successfully into regions which a generation ago were regarded as the preserves of metropolitan (i.e., British, French, and American) writers and have succeeded; the examples of Northrop Frye, Katherine Coburn, and Marshall McLuhan should be sufficient at this point. And it must be said that outside Canada there is enough interest in historical and critical manuscripts of real merit to ensure that no good Canadian book in these fields has in recent years failed, given a modicum of patience on the writer's part, to find a publisher. It may be contended – and I think there is much weight to the argument – that Canadian publishing should be broadly based enough to initiate the printing of good books by Canadians in any field; this surely, is one of the symptoms of a self-sustaining culture, particularly in a country of more than twenty million inhabitants. But to argue for the wider publication at home of Canadian books is not to contend that Canadian books of real merit as a general rule fail to get published. With rare exceptions, I believe that during the 1960s and 1970s all of them have had their chance, and sooner more often than later; indeed, a surprisingly large number of books in such fields as history are now being commissioned by Canadian publishers who are beginning to find, like their colleagues in Britain and the United States, that they cannot sustain a level flow of books of high quality without taking an active part in the conception as well as the publication of many of them.

The one field of writing in Canada that has been neglected by publishers of all kinds, and in which large numbers of good manuscripts may still lie unpublished, is that of drama. In Canada a book of printed plays is a publishing occasion merely because of its rarity; even a well-known and relatively successful playwright like George Ryga has to publish his plays with a small, non-commercial Vancouver press, Talonbooks, and I know several other good dramatists whose plays have never seen print. The reasons for this special situation are complex, and the responsibility may lie less with Canadian publishers than with Canadian playhouses, which, despite their professions of interest in native drama, have been notably more reluctant to stage Canadian plays than publishers have been to present Canadian books. Publishers, understandably, have in their turn waited on a stage success which for most playwrights here never comes. Consequently, drama is the only area of Canadian writing where there appears to be a fair number of manuscripts that deserve publication and do not achieve it. I shall comment further on this point when I consider separately the various fields of writing in Canada.

Having said that, in all fields except drama, publishing facilities either here or abroad seem to assure that few Canadian works of merit fail to reach at least a modest pub-

lic, so that our record of publication is at present roughly equal to the significant productivity of our authors, I should add that I do not regard this as a necessarily stable situation. The last five years have seen many new publishing houses appear, largely in response to an upsurge of experimental writing, some of them entirely amateur presses devoted to publishing without profit, and others – like New Press and House of Anansi – combining commercial methods with tendentious policies aimed at encouraging certain styles in literature or in ideology. Others have been presses specifically devoted to publications of local interest, especially in the field of history; there have been examples in Western Canada, for example, where no large commercial publishers exist, of booksellers and printers making publishing a subsidiary but often profitable activity.

In an industry noted for precariousness and low margins of profit, such ventures tend to be ephemeral, for they are especially vulnerable to the fluctuations of the economy. An amateur press is often subsidized by superfluous wealth which a stock market slump can wipe out; a printer-publisher is more likely to abandon publishing than printing when money gets tight; a go-ahead small commercial press finds working capital less easily than most other small businesses. Consequently the present rough balance between publishing facilities and available good books is not necessarily stable. A time may come when, as in the thirties, good books, even if they do not go unpublished for ever, may at least be delayed in appearing.

At the same time, it is almost a rule that the productivity of writers increases constantly in a culture that is not moribund, so that it always presses on the available facilities of publication. This is because, while publishing does not exactly *produce* books, except in the sense that books in certain fields are often written because publishers commission them, it is one of the physical elements in that complex social phenomenon best described as a literary ambience, which is not only of vital importance to writers individually (their phoenix nest if one might again take up Read's metaphor), but tends also to determine the quality of a whole literary tradition. So important is it, that one can hardly assess reasonably the prospects of literature in Canada without considering the nature and the development of our own literary ambience.

## 4

The literature of Canada today, like that of the United States in about 1880, is emerging from its classic formative stage. Indeed, just as in 1880 most of the classic writers of the United States were alive at the same time – Melville and Emerson, Longfellow and Whitman, James and Howells – so in Canada today we find that most of our classic writers are either recently dead – like E. J. Pratt – or still among us, like F. R. Scott, Morley Callaghan, Sinclair Ross, Hugh MacLennan, A. J. M. Smith. By classic writers in this context I mean, of course, the first generation of important writers who can be considered completely Canadian in outlook. Like



writing in the United States until the mid-nineteenth century, writing in Canada until the late 1920s had not established that symbiotic relationship with the territorial and national environment (considered in spiritual as well as physical terms) that would allow it to be regarded as more than colonial. Poets like Mair, Roberts, Lampman, even D. C. Scott, and novelists like Ralph Connor and James de Mille, were really attempting, as early American writers had done, to interpret their environment through literary attitude and literary forms derived from Britain; American and Canadian literature in their early phases were both in fact remote regional variants on the English tradition, and there have been critics who refuse even now – as Herbert Read did until his death in 1968 – to acknowledge that even American literature can be accepted as a distinct tradition; this of course was because the “modern” movement in literature had, at the time of the Imagists, a brief but genuinely international phase when distinctions between the British and the American traditions were temporarily blurred.

But if one accepts, as most critics in Canada and a growing number of critics abroad now do, that a distinctive Canadian tradition has in fact emerged, and is producing a literature that is growing in the two most important ways – in the number of practising writers and in the variety of their forms of expression – one must assess not only the qualitative and quantitative character of that literature, but also the character of the setting out of which it has emerged. And this brings one back to the question of the literary ambience.

A classic literary ambience, easily comprehensible because of its unusual condensation, would be that of Paris during the fifty years from 1848 to the end of the nineteenth century. What one immediately sees, reading the memoirs of the time, is the complex of circumstances that brought writers into association: the rich café life that encouraged the proliferation of literary schools and *cénacles* in which writers criticized and encouraged each other; the machinery of mediation between writers and readers associated with publishing houses, literary magazines, and newspapers that encouraged serious criticism. But beyond such basic factors one has to bear in mind less tangible elements such as the neo-Romantic sense of the artist as “bohemian,” as a being alienated from normal bourgeois society, which in nineteenth century France tended to create a counter-culture, but far more rich and varied than our own; the extraordinary ferment of ideas produced by the evolutionary controversy; the state of political flux as France defined and redefined her national shape through two republics and an empire; the shock of defeat in the Franco-Prussian war and the loss of Alsace-Lorraine; the bitter social oppositions of *la belle époque*, beginning with the brutalities of the Commune and culminating in the Dreyfus case, in which artists in general and writers in particular were inclined to take the revolutionary side, so that in the 1890s one witnessed, as in Quebec today, poets and painters forming part of a movement – the characteristically French type of anarchism – which included both radical trade unionists and terrorist assassins. All these



elements came together to form a literary ambience, which in the case of nineteenth-century France produced, from Baudelaire and Flaubert onwards, a "modern" movement that, moving through such variant avatars as symbolism, surrealism, and existentialism (or absurdism), has profoundly affected the whole course of world literature.

Within a literary ambience there exists, of course, that much narrower and more easily defined entity which one might call a "literary world"; in other words, the community of writers and of those linked with them in publishing and in other mediational activities. In its closest sense a literary world – say the literary world of London or Paris – is the community of literati who inhabit a specific centre of culture and interpret its characteristic tone. But a writer does not have to live in such a cultural centre to be part of a literary world, for there are many other ways of assuring a sense of connection, though most writers in youth and some throughout their careers feel a need for the stimulus and the creative tensions produced by close and frequent contacts with other writers and with the actual machinery – editing, publishing, broadcasting, poetry reading, lecturing, etc. – of the literary world.

Neither a literary ambience nor a literary world need necessarily be as restricted physically as those of, say, classic Athens, nineteenth-century France, or London between the great wars. The character of the literary ambience will, indeed, tend to be determined by the nature of the general culture, whether it tends to be centripetal and metropolitan, as those of England and France have been, or diffused among regional centres, like those of Italy and Germany. A writer in France almost invariably finds his way at some time to Paris as the centre of literary taste and of such necessary activities as publishing; a writer in Italy is aware that Milan and Florence are at least as important for their literary activities as Rome, while in Germany, Munich, Leipzig, and Frankfurt have always rivalled Berlin in providing separate nuclei of cultural activity; so even have lesser centres like Weimar and Hamburg.

The North American countries stand mid-way between the metropolitan and the diffused forms of literary culture. New York, and in Canada the twin metropolises of Toronto and Montreal, have become important centres of the machinery of the literary world, in the sense that most publishers and most national periodicals are established there. On the other hand, the publishing hegemony of the United States is challenged, even in the case of commercial houses, by both Boston and Chicago, a circumstance that mirrors the diffused nature of the American literary culture, for both New England and the mid-West, as well as California, have not only produced important schools of writers but have even initiated important developments in American literature independently of the New York literary ambience which itself, with its strong dependence on locally-born Jewish intellectuals, is more regional than national in character. In literature the old adage that New York does not represent America certainly holds true.

In anglophone Canada the virtually complete concentration of commercial pub-

lishing in Toronto gives a completely misleading impression of a centralized literary world. Not only do many writers live by choice scattered over the country, but regional centres of literary culture, like Fredericton and Winnipeg, like Montreal between the great wars, like Vancouver from the 1950s, have always contributed special elements to the literary mosaic, and this tendency has been mirrored in the fact that while commercial publishers, and national magazines like *Maclean's*, *Saturday Night*, and *Canadian Forum*, are still concentrated in the country's commercial metropolis, the literary magazines which have played so important a part in the recent upsurge of poetry and criticism are scattered over the country from Victoria (*Malahat Review*) and Vancouver (*Canadian Literature*) in the west to Fredericton (*The Fiddlehead*) in the east, while the little presses are, if anything, even more scattered, so that books of poetry with reasonable pretensions are published now by houses as far spread as the Ladysmith Press in Ladysmith, Quebec, and Sono Nis Press, now located in the Queen Charlotte Islands. Such a diffusion of writers, publishers, and magazines, which is the natural and healthy form for a literary world to take in Canada, has been reinforced by the proliferation of universities and their inclination to employ writers on their faculties and to encourage poets on reading circuits, by the sporadic attempts of the CBC to develop regional programming, and also by a significant trend among writers to work against the current general trend towards urbanization and to move into the lesser centres of population where they can find circumstances more conducive to creative work. Al Purdy raiding the world from Ameliasburgh, Alden Nowlan devotedly following his literary career in his native New Brunswick, are representatives of a whole genre of Canadian writers who deliberately resist the metropolis, whether it is Toronto or the London of Mordecai Richler's exile.

In so far as the literary ambience exceeds the community of writers and fellow travellers (the literary world), it consists of all those influences which go to make a national culture. This is hardly the place to present a history of the links between social and political developments and the arts in Canada, but some of the elements that go to make the writer's special ambience can be suggested. The geographical and climatic elements, for example; the great distances, and the psychological elements of loneliness, fear, and isolation that come from a knowledge of the proximity of the wilderness and the North; the regional differences between the magnitude of western landscapes and the intimacy of Maritime scenes; the concrete local loyalties that are often more strongly felt than the more abstract loyalty to a federated nation: these have justifiably become the commonplaces of recent criticism which has been increasingly oriented to the quest for archetypal Canadian symbols and myths. To them one must add the tensions between provinces and peoples, between Canada and, in different ways, Britain and the United States; the surge of national consciousness whose first swell began to touch the literary world decisively in the 1920s; the rise of a school of Canadian-oriented historians; the social strains arising from

the Depression and even earlier events (e.g. the Winnipeg General Strike), and the rise of radical political movements like the CCF and Quebec separatism, between them ensuring that in Canadian writing the nationalist component would be modified by multi-radical inclinations. All these factors, plus the diffused influence of British, American, and Continental European literary movements, have helped to form the web of the Canadian literary ambience, and all must be remembered when we seek to assess qualitatively and quantitatively the output of Canadian writers.

## 5

During the past fifty years the scope of Canadian writing has broadened beyond recognition. As we shall see much more poetry, and criticism, are being written and published than ever before, fiction has attained a maturity and a variety that no one in the 1920s would have anticipated, Canadian history and biography have burgeoned, and Canadians have proved their literary ability and their scholarship in many fields of writing that go beyond merely Canadian interests. Only in certain obsolescent genres, such as the polite essay and that amorphous class of writings which bibliographers class under the ambivalent heading of "humour," has there been a not wholly undesirable recession.

The impression of the growing maturity of Canadian writing is not merely one gained from the inside. The reputation of Canadian writers abroad has grown in an extraordinary way since the 1920s when A. J. M. Smith was the only one of our poets even vaguely known in England and the somewhat later days when Mazo de la Roche was the only Canadian writer one was likely to see (in translation of course) in French bookshops. Canadian books are treated with respect by critics abroad, and receive their fair share of attention in such important media of criticism as the *Times Literary Supplement* and the *New York Times Book Review*. Canadian novelists like Hugh MacLennan, Mordecai Richler, Morley Callaghan, Margaret Laurence, and Norman Levine are not merely published regularly in London and New York, but are also translated extensively, so that *The Watch that Ends the Night* sold several hundred thousand copies in Germany. Even Canadian poetry, heralded by collections like Ralph Gustafson's Penguin anthology and A. J. M. Smith's *Modern Canadian Poetry*, has attracted attention in both the United States and the Commonwealth countries, with the result that – to give only one example – Earle Birney now makes triumphal lecturing progresses in countries where little more than a decade ago he found it difficult to publish even single poems. Mordecai Richler's recent prose-and-verse anthology, *Canadian Writing Today*, published by Penguin and distributed world-wide, has drawn attention to the extent and quality of experimental writing in Canada. The result of this diffusion of Canadian writings abroad has been a recent recognition that, far from producing second-rate colonial imitations, Canadian writers, and particularly Canadian poets, are competing on a high level with other writers in the English-speaking world. If foreign critics regard



Canadian writers with far more respect than ever before, Canadians in their turn are assuming the dual citizenship which comes to those who belong to a maturing literature; in proportion as they faithfully represent their own culture, they have become members of a wider humanistic culture. The insights of writers like Northrop Frye and Marshall McLuhan have become international in their acceptance and scope. In another manifestation of the same tendency, Canadian writers are moving out of their merely Canadian world and writing of other places and cultures with considerable adeptness. The inspiration that Africa has been to writers like Margaret Laurence and Dave Godfrey has already been amply noted; one might cite the deepening and broadening of poetic insight that travel abroad has brought to writers as varied as Earle Birney, Al Purdy, and Irving Layton, while two of the most attractive of recent Canadian books, Morley Callaghan's *That Summer in Paris* and John Glassco's *Memoirs of Montparnasse*, look back with a firm detachment on other times in another land – the France of the almost-mythical 1920s. The Canadian writer, in possession of his own world, now looks with a growing maturity on the world beyond.

In the latter part of this paper I propose to deal separately with each field of Canadian writing, but I intend to preface this more particular study with some remarks on the evolution of the "modern movement" in Canada – the movement to which almost all of our significant writing in some way belongs. I use the title "modern movement" quite deliberately, since the term not only separates the distinctively Canadian writing that has emerged since the 1920s from the vestiges of colonial writing that have only very recently vanished from the Canadian literary scene; it also suggests the underlying links that undoubtedly exist between Canadian writing in this century and the international movement one associates with the names of Eliot and Pound, of Proust and Joyce, of William Carlos Williams and André Malraux and Albert Camus, of Lawrence and of Gide. Such writers, by liberating their own literatures from the stylistic and moralistic inhibitions of nineteenth-century conventions, provided not merely examples, but even techniques which writers in emergent nations like Canada have used to create their own forms of literary independence. It has often been said, for example, that the poets of the First Statement group in Montreal during the 1940s were much influenced by Auden and the English poets of the thirties in general; that their rivals, led by Irving Layton, Louis Dudek, and Raymond Souster, were much influenced by Pound and other American poets, and these accusations – if one wishes to regard them as accusations – are undoubtedly true, but what is often missed is that the writers in question, in revolt against outdated colonial styles, used the experimental techniques developed by English and American writers not only to abandon outdated forms, but also to develop new forms that would not be imitative but would more accurately express their own experience as Canadians. Similarly, the ultimate influence of emigrant writers in Canada, like Malcolm Lowry, Brian Moore, Patrick Anderson, Paul



West and others, in so far as such writers have not remained completely detached from the literary life of the country, has been to introduce new stylistic elements which Canadian writers have in the course of time adapted for their own purposes.

The evolution of a culture, like the creation of a political institution, is not a process that one can chart entirely by precise events or exact dates. But it is certain that during the 1920s a multiple stirring was taking place which would have considerable and important results. Isolated figures like Frederick Philip Grove and Morley Callaghan and E. J. Pratt were exploring in new ways both the physical and the mental landscapes of Canada; H. A. Innis was developing historical generalizations that would have wide-ranging consequences in changing our view of the Canadian past; the McGill group of poets, led by F. R. Scott and A. J. M. Smith, were laying down the theoretical basis of a self-consciously Canadian movement of poetry, and in 1928, with his celebrated *Canadian Forum* article, "Wanted – a Canadian Criticism," Smith looked forward over the decades to a development that would not ensue for another quarter of a century.

In other words, in fiction, poetry, criticism, and history (including biography), which are the basic literary genres, the first seeds of the modern movement in Canadian writing were germinating in the 1920s, and by the later 1930s there had appeared not only a strong movement in poetry but also, in the first epoch-making books of Donald Creighton and A. R. M. Lower, the forerunners of a new Canadian historiography which would have a profound influence on the general outlook of Canadian writers; the analogies between Creighton in history and Hugh MacLennan in fiction have yet to be thoroughly worked out by some critic of the future. Fiction was slower to evolve formally; the publication of Sinclair Ross's *As For Me and My House* in 1941 and Hugh MacLennan's *Barometer Rising* in 1945 were key dates in the development of Canadian fiction towards an independent maturity, but it was in poetry that the best experimental work was being done right into the late 1950s and that the largest number of new and interesting writers emerged.

The essential difference in development between poetry and fiction was largely a difference between formal experimentalism on the one hand and pragmatic didacticism on the other. From 1920 onwards the poets were consistently experimenting, each seeking assiduously his own new and individual manner; the novelists and short story writers, on the other hand, were long concerned more with unravelling the complexities of the relationships between Canadian men and the Canadian land, and were content to adapt fairly standard realistic techniques to their didactic purposes, moralistic in the case of writers like Callaghan, and nationalistically political in the case of writers like Hugh MacLennan. It was in the 1950s that novelists, first attempting to apply to fiction some of the techniques of the poet, rather like the first aeroplanes imitating the wings of the bird, began to experiment. In this development a key date may well be the publication in 1959 of Sheila Watson's *The Double Hook*, the beginning of a widespread movement towards the use of fantasy –

satirical and otherwise – as an important element in the fictional approach; during the past four or five years, in the novels of younger writers published by the House of Anansi and others of the smaller presses – and occasionally by the ever-daring Jack McClelland – fantasy has been combined with an anti-structuralist approach which has played interesting games with time, space, and levels of consciousness, so that a year's production of fiction in the 1970s is likely to be a great deal more interesting than a year's production of fiction at the beginning of the 1950s.

In this way, the evolution of Canadian writing has followed a fairly standard and predictable course. In almost all literatures, it is in the poetry that the first signs of a genuine group identity (regional or national) appears, followed by variability and sophistication, and this is precisely what happened in Canadian verse between 1920 and 1960. The development of a characteristic and distinct prose tradition usually follows, as it did in the English eighteenth century with the novel first trying – as it was doing in the Canadian 1930s and 1940s – to explore as a fairly popular medium the broad character of the national life, and then proceeding more esoterically into the ironical, satirical, or lyrical examination of its parts. This is what has happened in Canada between *As For Me and My House*, *Barometer Rising*, and Callaghan's *They Shall Inherit the Earth* at one end of the evolution, and novels like Dave Godfrey's *The New Ancestors*, Margaret Atwood's *The Edible Woman*, and Marian Engel's *The Honeyman Festival*, with many more extreme but less successful experiments clustering around them, at the other end.

The other important prose development in Canadian writing during the past two decades has been the redeeming of the promise which A. J. M. Smith made in 1928. A Canadian criticism has indeed appeared, and, as the history of other literatures has shown, this is one of the signs that a tradition of writing is firmly established and conscious of its own nature and destiny. Twenty years ago good criticism was rare in Canada, confined to occasional articles in the university quarterlies, to the weekly review programs arranged by the CBC on radio, and to reviews in the ephemeral literary magazines of the period before the mid-fifties; newspaper reviewing was generally speaking contemptible in quality, and only in a few papers is it any better today. The only regular and completely reliable critical feature at that time was the annual survey which the *University of Toronto Quarterly* published under the title of "Letters in Canada." General studies of Canadian literature were rare, so that Desmond Pacey's *Creative Writing in Canada* was unchallenged for many years after its first publication in 1952. Books and monographs on individual Canadian writers were so rare until the mid-sixties that in many years not a single work of this kind appeared on the publishers' lists. As will be evident in the later, more detailed reference to criticism in Canada today, this situation has changed so radically that a high proportion of the titles now first published in this country fall into the field of criticism. A number of key events can be noted in this connection. Throughout the 1950s, reviewing current poetry in "Letters in Canada," Northrop Frye established

a sympathetic but realistic approach to Canadian writing. In 1956, out of the ashes of *The Northern Review* and *Contemporary Verse*, appeared the *Tamarack Review*, which gave some encouragement to criticism, and in 1959 it was followed by *Canadian Literature*, which was devoted entirely to the study of writing in Canada and set out deliberately to encourage practising writers to observe and discuss their own craft. Another key date was the publication in 1965 of that vast compendium, *Literary History of Canada*, written by a galaxy of academic scholars under the general editorship of Carl F. Klinck, an event paralleled in art criticism, which has always followed a little behind literary criticism in this country, by the appearance in 1966 of the equivalent authoritative work, produced in this case by a single scholar, J. Russell Harper's massive and magnificent *Painting in Canada*. Such works, with Pacey's *Creative Writing in Canada*, a few anthologies of earlier critical writing collected by A. J. M. Smith and other writers, and the steady encouragement of critics of all schools and persuasions by *Canadian Literature*, provided the basis for an increasingly subtle and creative movement in Canadian criticism which runs parallel to the contemporary developments in poetry and fiction.

This brief survey of the crucial half century of development in Canadian writing would be incomplete without reference to the various institutions other than publishers and literary periodicals that have played their part in providing the materials for the nest of the phoenix and thus in encouraging the creative productivity of our writers.

First among them must be placed the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, which was encouraging and helping Canadian writers long before the universities assumed this role in any meaningful way, and more than twenty years before the Canada Council appeared on the scene.

All these institutions have been important for their negative as much as their positive contributions: for having provided time to write, for having removed inhibiting anxieties, for providing audiences that would not otherwise have existed and thus saving the writer from the sense – all too often experienced by Canadian writers during the whole period up to the foundation of the CBC in 1936 – that they were writing for no identifiable public. It is not for institutions to initiate works of art; most commissioned monuments are harshly judged by history. It is for them rather to remove the obstacles to their creation and the barriers to their enjoyment.

CBC programs like "Wednesday Night" (in its various metamorphoses), "Anthology," and the various drama series have not only over the decades helped actually to feed writers who otherwise might have given up both hope and writing. They have literally kept from extinction two vital forms of literature which at times seemed too fragile to survive our national indifference – the short story and the play. There have been times recently when the demise or change in character of certain Canadian magazines, and the reluctance of Canadian publishers, have left short story writers nowhere to sell their works except the CBC, and the period of



several years in which Robert Weaver skilfully and sympathetically conducted this operation is a vital passage in the history of writing in this country. In the same way, what drama we have in Canada owes its existence largely to the CBC's steady encouragement of playwrights, who, at times when there were literally no professional theatres that would undertake a live performance of a Canadian play, could still exercise their talents in radio drama and television drama.

Whether the increasing employment of writers by universities is a beneficial development is highly debatable, and can safely be left outside this survey. The universities have made more definite contributions to the literary ambience of Canada during the past ten or fifteen years. By sponsoring a variety of magazines they have provided places for critics to develop and also for a variety of experiments in poetry and prose to be tried out by young writers. By giving room to poets to read and gather audiences among the young, they have helped to set up the "reading circuit" which is now an important part of Canadian literary life, and so they have been partly responsible for the verse explosion that began to emerge in publishing terms round about 1964. Perhaps most important, they have nurtured an interest among the young in Canadian books and Canadian authors, and, quite apart from material considerations, the sale of Canadian works of fiction, poetry, criticism, and history has increased through university bookstores; as one result of this encouragement there has been an actual increase in the quantity – with little evident loss in the quality – of books written in fields like criticism, history, and social studies.

Finally, the contribution of the Canada Council has taken three forms: the gift of time, the gift of the chance to travel both in Canada and abroad, and – often – the gift through subsidization of the opportunity to publish what might be difficult books to place with publishers on an ordinary commercial basis. So far as the productivity of the writer is concerned, the gifts of time and mobility are most important, and to the Council's good sense and sympathy in this direction we already owe a fair number of important books. Publishing subsidies, in this context, are of secondary importance, though there is no doubt that the successful publication of one book often stimulates a writer to attempt another (even though Canada has a distinguished list of one-success writers) and in this way we may say that every aspect of the Canada Council's literary program has helped to stimulate Canadian writers to produce more books in most fields.

In the preceding sections I have endeavoured to chart the development of writing in Canada as a living, growing, and, in my view, strongly continuing tradition. It is not merely that the kinds of books being written by Canadians are increasing and showing more variety and sophistication of approach. There is no important field of writing in which – as I shall shortly show – the production of books by



writers is not also increasing steadily in a quantitative sense. Editors, librarians and bibliographers are aware of the growing flow of new books that from year to year have to be reviewed, catalogued, categorized, and somehow introduced to the growing public which now, one gathers, is so concerned for Canadian culture that books published in Canada account for almost a third of the total sales of bookshops in this country. One of the symptoms of this development is that in its "Letters in Canada" feature relating to 1968, the *University of Toronto Quarterly* reluctantly abandoned its sections devoted to history and social studies because – as the editors acknowledged – "of the increasing number of Canadian books published each year." Similarly, in the Autumn 1971 issue of *Canadian Literature*, the editor of that quarterly admitted that his boast of reviewing every Canadian book published, which had been easy to fulfil when the journal was founded in 1959, had for some years gone unhonoured because of the number of competing titles. It is conceivable that the time has now come when a monthly review might be devoted to literature in Canada without encountering any shortage of Canadian books to discuss or of good critics to discuss them. As a final illustration of the trend in the writing and publication of books, the committee which selects the titles that will receive Governor-General's Awards has recently been enlarged and divided into a series of sub-committees, each devoted to a specific field of writing, partly because the number of submissions has grown too large for the original three-man committee to handle efficiently.

A final general feature of the situation that calls for attention is the greater durability in market terms of the Canadian book issued by a commercial publisher. McClelland and Stewart revealed recently that, for the first time, their sales from inventory of Canadian books in a given season now exceed their sales of new titles. Paperback publishing has also become an established feature of the Canadian book industry; some publishers' series have been ragged in organization and sporadic in appearance, but the University of Toronto Press's Canadian University Paperbooks and McClelland and Stewart's New Canadian Library have both been adding regularly to their lists over a number of years. With eighty titles in its general list, the New Canadian Library covers a wide spectrum of Canadian writing from early colonial days to the present, of which roughly half is devoted to living writers. The breadth of the market for cheap editions of living Canadian writers has been shown in recent months by the appearance, independently of the established series, of paperback reprints of the novels of Hugh MacLennan and Hugh Garner which are sold not only in bookstores but also in drugstores throughout the country.

Another form of republication that is becoming more frequent is the collection of poems by a living author, in which a commercial publisher will often gather together works that previously were published in small editions by little presses. Some of those books, like Irving Layton's and Leonard Cohen's *Collected Poems*, have become minor best-sellers.

The increasing durability and salability of Canadian books which such facts indicate is perhaps not a direct criterion of the productivity of Canadian writers, but it is germane to the subject for two reasons. First, even reprinting is a service to the community – vital for the health of the national culture – which demands that publishers be adequately capitalized and adequately efficient. Second, an increase in royalty income means an increase in the professionalism of authors; there are still few writers in Canada who exist wholly by their literary earnings, and the more such earnings can be guaranteed by extended sales, the more writers will be inclined to substitute full-time for part-time dedication to their craft and the more books they will have time and inclination to write.

## 7

*General*

In considering the various fields of literary creativity in Canada it is perhaps best to begin with a glance at those which seem either peripheral, in the sense that they cater for restricted interests, or moribund.

As examples of the first category one might cite educational and religious books. In both fields a surprisingly large number of books is published each year and absorbed by its special market, but only rarely does one of these books attract the attention of a wider public. In the case of religious books there was a brief flurry of general interest at the height of the “God is dead” controversy, to which some Canadian authors contributed, but afterwards religious writing withdrew into its special channels, and the general public has heard little of it in recent seasons. Similarly, wide public attention occasionally focuses on some sharply critical book on education like Hilda Neatby’s *So Little for the Mind*, but most of the new books in this field that appear each year go unnoticed by the general literary public. All one can say is that there is obviously a professional readership for such books that assures sales, and a group of specialist writers who seem to provide adequately for the needs of the restricted market. Except in so far as such publications help to support the publishing industry, they must be regarded as peripheral to the question of writing as an emanation of the general culture which we have been considering.

Among the moribund categories I would place the polite essay and the humorous book. Many have regretted the passing of the polite essay, with its leisurely reflections on the character of life, its graceful philosophic ruminations, its often acute but diffused observations on human nature. Canada has never produced an essayist to compare with Hazlitt or Lamb. Goldwin Smith was too didactic; Stephen Leacock tried too hard to amuse. In recent years Hugh MacLennan has been our only essayist to command wide and deserved attention. Otherwise, the collections of essays which grace publishers’ lists more rarely with each season are mostly collected ephemerae of newspaper columnists which appeal to special audiences of loyal aficionados and which are quickly and mercifully forgotten.

Such columnists' collections blend with the field of humour. For reasons one is at a loss to understand, there has been a widespread view that "humour" is a literary genre in which Canadians excel; there is even an annual medal offered in Canada for humorous writers. Yet the fact that the cult of Leacock is virtually unchallenged should help to dispel this illusion, as should the fact that in any one year about half the books in the category of humour published in Canada are likely to be reprints of Leacock or Haliburton. The fact is that humour, whether in the manner of Twain or of Leacock, is the product of an immature culture. Only when it is sharpened into satire or refined into wit does it find a place in a sophisticated literary ambience. Among our contemporary writers likely to find themselves occasionally classed among the humorists, perhaps only two are of real significance, Robertson Davies and Kildare Dobbs, and both of them are properly speaking wits. The surviving "humorists" wander in a limbo of hollow hilarity which has no contemporary relevance; it is not surprising that in this field only five new books appeared in 1970 and four in 1969.

### *Poetry*

To pass from a moribund and musty genre like "humour" to one in which both production and publishing are flourishing hectically tends to infect one with something of the euphoria that is the characteristic tone of the Canadian League of Poets, itself a notable symptom of the highly professional attitude to their craft and standing Canadian poets now assume.

The statistics are remarkable. In 1959, 24 books of poems in English were published in Canada; in 1970, *at least* 125 appeared (the checklist I have had to use is certainly incomplete in the sense of having ignored some new or obscure presses), *five times* as many; for Canadian poetry in French, the comparable figures are 11 books in 1959 and 84 in 1970, a *sevenfold* increase. In 1971 the total may well run as high as 250 or even higher for English Canada alone. I am judging from the size of the batches in which presses like Fiddlehead Poetry Books, Sono Nis Press, Blew Ointment Press, and Talonbooks now issue their small volumes; within one month I received for review in *Canadian Literature* no fewer than thirty titles from these four presses together, and the annual production of Fiddlehead Poetry Books alone is between twenty and thirty a year.

These figures represent an increasing flow of poetry which began during the last decade and has far from levelled off. Another way of viewing the trend is to consider the number of poets who publish first collections each year; in *Canadian Literature* during 1969, Louis Dudek pointed out that while three first books appeared in 1959, the number jumped to eight in 1964, to twelve in 1965, to sixteen in 1966, to seventeen in 1967, and it has been rising ever since.

Apart from the sheer volume of poetry that is printed by a variety of processes, from the smudged mimeographing of Blew Ointment Press to the very sophisti-



cated printing of Talonbooks and the Coach House Press, the most striking feature of this development is the fact that the number of books of poetry published by commercial presses has remained roughly stable: thirteen in 1970 as against fifteen in 1959, which means that regular publishers brought out most of the books of verse published in 1959, but only *a tenth* in 1970, a situation which means that the young poet is no longer dependent on the large publisher for his introduction to the literary world. On the other hand, the commercial house can pick from the lists of the little presses those young poets who seem to them promising enough to encourage with contracts for later volumes or collections. Given the limitations of editors, it is not always the best poets who are picked in this way. No commercial press undertook to publish the collections of those fine poets, Eldon Greer and E. G. Everson; it was left for Delta Press, which had shown faith in them throughout, to bring out their definitive volumes.

The upsurge of little presses, and the growth of their lists, is a phenomenon too complex to discuss here. It is linked with a wider interest in modern poetry in the universities, with the rise of the poetry reading circuit, with the increase in ephemeral poetry magazines (eight new titles in 1970 as against two in 1959), and with the anti-materialism of the counter-culture. Some critics have contended that the loose selection policy of the little presses means that many poets are being put into print before they are sufficiently developed; others suggest that there is no harm in a young poet trying himself out in a mimeographed edition of a few hundred copies. There are merits in both arguments, but perhaps the most important fact to be considered is that the situation ensures that we are left in little doubt of the poetic resources of the country, since the good as well as the bad have a chance to appear, and the regular publishers these years are never at a loss for interesting poets to fill out whatever proportion of their lists may be available for verse. In this connection it is worth noting that among Dudek's names of new poets publishing first volumes, mostly with little presses, between 1959 and 1967, there appear many writers who have since become established figures in the Canadian literary world: e.g., Al Purdy, Milton Acorn, Gwen MacEwen, Margaret Atwood, Phyllis Gotlieb, Alden Nowlan, George Bowering, Francis Sparshott, Michael Ondaatje, George Jonas, bp Nichol. Almost all emerged through the activities of the little presses.

### *Drama*

If the situation of poetry in Canada is so encouraging, with a publishing organization that fits an expanding genre, the situation of drama is by contrast lamentable. I have been able to trace only seven books by English-Canadian dramatists that were published for the first time in Canada during the past five years, a smaller number than are published in an average year in Quebec.

This failure to publish plays has persisted for many years in Canada, in spite of



the fact that a considerable number of good playwrights have been at work in this country since the 1930s. The archives of the CBC, if they have been properly kept, must contain the scripts of thousands of radio and television plays; hundreds of other plays have been written for amateur or – more rarely – for professional production. (In 1959 alone the Ottawa Theatre Guild mimeographed for its own membership no fewer than nineteen original one-act plays.) Yet only a fraction of this material has been printed, despite the fact that it contains work by some of the best Canadian writers and that, particularly in radio drama where the provocation of mental visualization is so important, there are works of great experimental interest and verse plays whose poetic standard is superior to that of many of the volumes of verse now being published.

Here, then, is a whole productive genre almost unrepresented in print. It is conventional publishers' wisdom that plays in print do not sell, but until recently it was still such wisdom that poetry did not sell; one might point out that in Germany collections of radio plays have for many years been publishing successes. Perhaps in this area the CBC has not entirely lived up to its public obligations; as the custodian of so much that represents our national culture, it should have explored more thoroughly the possibilities of undertaking, perhaps in collaboration with publishers, the presentation of the more important dramatic pieces that have been written and performed under its auspices. Too many good works, after one or at most two performances, have vanished into the CBC archives, while their writers have given up the hope of interesting publishers. I suggest that here – in Canadian drama – lies a field into which subsidized publishing might advance with confidence, first to bring to light the best of our forgotten works of drama, and secondly to stir the professional theatres into some genuine action in terms of Canadian drama by creating a reading public for the plays they have so irresponsibly neglected to present. Though it may be beyond the terms of this Commission, I do suggest that it is imperative that stringent conditions relating to the performance of Canadian plays be imposed in connection with any public grant, federal, provincial, or municipal, to a Canadian theatre. There is a limit to our endurance of inferior New York plays when we have good Canadian plays going both unproduced and unpublished.

### *Fiction*

In 1960, twenty-five new fiction titles were published in Canada. In 1970 the total was about forty. Though this is far less spectacular than the increase in the number of books of poetry, it still represents an increase of sixty percent in the amount of fiction published over ten years. More important is the fact that a far higher proportion of the books published in 1970 were written by novelists intensely committed to the art of fiction and a far lesser proportion by bromide hacks. Actually, for its time, 1960 was a good year in Canadian fiction. Morley Callaghan's *The*

*Many Colored Coat*, Mavis Gallant's *Green Water, Green Sky*, Brian Moore's *The Luck of Ginger Coffey*, and Margaret Laurence's first novel, *This Side Jordan*, all appeared that year; indeed, we were so much impressed by this cluster of fine trees that we did not notice the poor undergrowth of secondary works, and above all the lack of experimental fiction by younger writers.

Looking backward, what the lists for 1960 and the years close to it suggested was that an upper-crust work of obvious authority and accomplished craftsmanship even then had no difficulty finding acceptance, but novels in an unfamiliar and experimental vein and short stories of any kind stood a much slighter chance. Some, indeed, were published, but I remember many good writers of that time who today would have been given their chance, but who then withdrew in discouragement.

The list for 1970 is subtly different. True, it contains excellent new novels by established writers like Robertson Davies (*Fifth Business*), Hugh Garner (*A Nice Place to Visit*), Margaret Laurence (*A Bird in the House*), and Brian Moore (*Fergus*), together with a posthumous novel of unexpected power by Malcolm Lowry (*October Ferry to Gabriola*.) But it also contains a rich undergrowth, ranging from good works by relatively established younger writers, such as Hugh Hood's *A Game of Touch*, Rudy Wiebe's *The Blue Mountains of China*, and Marian Engel's *The Honeyman Festival*, to a spectacular series of first novels, led with almost breathtaking authority by Dave Godfrey's *The New Ancestors*, together with another fine novel of Africa, Audrey Thomas's *Mrs. Blood*, and supported by a remarkable company of the kind of experimental novel, published by small semi-commercial presses like Oberon and Anansi, which a decade ago might have been read aloud in chapters to a writer's circle, with perhaps a single fragment printed in a little magazine before the whole work was forgotten. They include David Helwig's *The Streets of Summer*, Rachel Wyatt's *The String Box*, Michael Charters' *Victor Victim*, Peter Such's *Fallout*, and George Payerle's *The Afterpeople*, disturbing novels all of them, eroding accepted categories, probing into social and psychological weak spots, creating their own peculiar timeless architectures.

And if the preceding two or three years were memorable for the number of highly original novels by young writers published by shoestring presses, 1971 may well be remembered as the year when the short story came into its own and Robert Weaver's dedication to the genre was finally rewarded, for it saw what must be a record for many years in the publication of stories in volume form. Four collections by individual authors appeared in the first few months of the autumn season, by Hugh Hood, Austin Clarke, Hugh Garner, and Norman Levine, together with an anthology of new stories, mainly by younger writers, edited by David Helwig and Tom Marshall.

The significance of this development is that the writers of short stories have kept at work all through the publishing doldrums that affected their craft, and now that

publishers are again willing to produce this type of fiction, the writers appear. As for fiction in general, I believe that the last four or five years have seen a movement towards the production of experimental novels which could equal the poetry explosion if the publishing resources were available. Since it costs much more to publish even a novella than a book of poems, it is unlikely that the resources will be available to the same extent, and this may be a good thing, since it will induce more selective editorial policies. Nevertheless, I believe that the quantity of good fiction being written by young people is growing steadily, and pressing very hard on existing publishing facilities.

### *Criticism*

In considering criticism, history, current affairs, we are dealing in fields less governed by what for convenience we may call inspiration. There is a risk in commissioning a book of poems or a novel, though sometimes it is a risk worth taking, but there is a fair probability that a critic who has proved himself in perceptive essays will write an acceptable study of an author or that a sound historian whose style has not been ruined in the thesis-mill will write a passable biography.

This means that in such fields there is a more direct relationship between supply and demand than in poetry or fiction. Not every book of criticism or history or biography, not even every book on current affairs, is written on commission, but many are, and this means that special surges of interest in the literary or academic world can actually be productive of useful and sometimes excellent books.

In the past, books of criticism of Canadian writing were few, and this applies particularly to studies of individual authors. During the five years from 1959 to 1964, only one book on an individual Canadian author was published; it concerned Leacock. In 1965 the situation began to change; books on Charles Mair, Pauline Johnson, and Lorne Pierce appeared. In 1966 there were studies of Morley Callaghan, Mazo de la Roche, Northrop Frye, and Bliss Carman, in 1967 on Anna Jameson and, again, Stephen Leacock, and in 1968 on James Reaney and Ethel Wilson. Except for the books on Leacock and Johnson, these were the first book-length studies on the authors who were their subjects, and their writing can be attributed to the rising general interest in criticism which we have noted as a feature of the 1960s.

In 1969 and 1970 there came a dramatic increase in the publication of studies of individual Canadian writers; in the first year thirteen were published, and in the second year the same number. The reason for this increase was the fact that several Canadian publishers more or less simultaneously realized the market potentialities of the increase in university courses in Canadian literature. Added to the widening general interest in things Canadian, this seemed to make feasible the publication of series of monographs commissioned from established critics; Copp Clark, McClelland and Stewart, and Forum House set up competitive series of studies, while



Ryerson began a series of critical anthologies, each centring around one writer.

Many of the studies written for inclusion in these series are excellent and original works of criticism, but the phenomenon has one grave disadvantage. To sell their books at low prices, the publishers demanded brevity. The Copp Clark studies run between 120 and 160 pages; those published by McClelland and Stewart are rigorously kept to 64 pages, including prelims and bibliography. This means that none of the works in question is a complete study, and the critic's abilities have not been exploited to their full extent. It has also led to some dubiously valuable duplication. For example, until 1969 there was no book on Hugh MacLennan; now there are four, and while it is useful to have the points of view of as many different critics, one wonders whether a single exhaustive study by an outstandingly perceptive writer, running to its full 300 pages, would not have been more valuable. That Canadian critics can write such studies with distinction is shown by the international acclaim given such Canadian books on non-Canadian writers as Phyllis Grosskurth's *John Addington Symonds* and George Woodcock's *The Crystal Spirit: A Study of George Orwell*, neither published in this country.

### *History and Biography*

Whether centennials and other similar festivals have more than symbolic significance in ordinary life, they act as notable stimuli in the writing and publication of historical works. The series of public festivals which began with the first British Columbia Centennial in 1958 and culminated with the third British Columbia Centennial in 1971, has combined with a mood of rising national feeling to provoke the active interest of historians, publishers, and the reading public. Like the editors of "Letters in Canada," I prefer not to embark on searching out all the worthy books of history that have appeared during the past decade; it is better to comment in general terms on the quality of the material that has been published, as an earnest of the kind of potentialities that exist in this field. Some of the books we have been offered are triumphs of publishing rather than authorship, compensating by expensive appearance and lavish illustrations for dullness of writing, but the general standard displayed in such a many-volumed general survey of our history as McClelland and Stewart's Canadian Centenary Series is high, and there have been many individual works of comparable excellence, written not merely by professional historians but also by professional men of letters and journalists. One might mention not only Pierre Berton's history of the Canadian Pacific Railway, but also Joseph Schull's recent *Rebellion* (on the Lower Canada uprisings of 1837) as examples of the kind of competent popular history of which a number of Canadian professional writers are capable. In local history, published often by very small houses, the standard has been less certain though even here fine books have appeared; the UBC Medal for Popular Biography in 1969 was won by William Rodney's *Kootenai Brown*, published by Gray's Publishing of Sidney, B.C.



Until recently, serious biography in Canada tended to consist of the occasional major set piece, sometimes excellent of its kind, but usually standing among an undergrowth of hagiographical works concerned more with national or local pride than with truth to life. Occasionally, also, there has been the good autobiographical work; two appeared in 1970, James Gray's *The Boy from Winnipeg* and John Glassco's *Memoirs of Montparnasse*. However, works like Creighton's monumental volumes on Macdonald or Joseph Schull's more popular biography of Laurier are still rare, and though Canadian scholars have written some good lives of non-Canadians, usually published abroad, the general standard of biography here has been low, largely because the task has too often fallen into the hands of incompetent devotees.

An important forward step has been the initiation of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, which has stimulated serious scholarly interest in this most interesting field of writing. The indirect result of this development is the appearance of two series of commissioned biographies, the Canadian Biographical Studies, published by the University of Toronto Press, and the more popular Canadian Lives, published by the Oxford University Press. The standard of writing and insight in the books so far published in these series varies from fair to excellent, and suggests that we have good biographers among us if only they are given the opportunity to develop their abilities. Unfortunately, like the series of critical studies already discussed, these biographical series consist of small books, between 35,000 and 40,000 words, whereas what we really need are major biographies which will fully use the available talent in this field; this is quite considerable, since biography is a genre in which the professional historian, the professional man of letters, and even the sophisticated journalist can operate.

### *Miscellaneous*

Current affairs have occupied much of the attention of publishers in recent years, but, though there are numerous writers in this field, they include few Peter Newmans and James Eayrses and all too many minor journalists anxious for the credit of appearing between covers, but really capable only of topical writing in the most ephemeral sense. Some of the larger publishers have maintained a reasonably high standard in their books on current affairs; smaller presses, though one applauds often their daring and their open-mindedness, have exercised too little editorial control in a field which is particularly liable to rapid obsolescence. The best books on current affairs have been those controlled by a strong guiding philosophy, like Denis Smith's recent *Bleeding Hearts . . . Bleeding Country*, perhaps the most capable study of the October 1970 crisis. In our age of political anxieties there is undoubtedly a large public for books on current affairs, and the journalistic world will always provide writers to meet that demand, so that in a merely quantitative sense ample productivity exists; it is on the quality of the product that doubt falls, and

I believe this is one field in which the market should be allowed to operate on a simple supply-and-demand basis with no thought of subsidization.

Travel writing is a rare genre in Canada. The great travel narratives on this country were written mostly in the nineteenth century and mostly by the English, and Canadians have so rarely written interestingly on other countries until the last three or four years that Margaret Laurence's *The Prophet's Camel Bell* rings in one's memory as a rare example. On the other hand, we have been very strong in wilderness writing, with recent fine examples from the work of Roderick Haig-Brown, Fred Bodsworth, and such younger writers as Fred Bruemmer, whose combination of elegiac essay and photographic record, *Seasons of the Eskimo*, is one of 1971's most impressive books. It would seem that the current interest in environmental questions is likely to increase the number of good books in this field.

Juvenile literature, on the other hand, seems a declining genre in Canada. It reached a minor peak in the early 1960s; and from 1961 to 1965 between thirty and forty new books were published each year. Since then there has been a steady decline, to eighteen new titles in 1969 and fourteen in 1970. A significant aspect of this decline appears to be the virtual disappearance of a number of series of children's books which were commenced with much confidence earlier in the decade.

The present writer is no expert in this field of writing, but he has a few thoughts to offer. First, it is noticeable that our best writers rarely turn to juveniles. Margaret Laurence's *Jason's Quest* in 1970, David Walker's *Pirate Rock* in 1969, and Roderick Haig-Brown's occasional juvenile are rare exceptions. Second, in this field the competition of foreign books is particularly severe because the attitudes of children – as psychologists assure us – are little differentiated until adolescence, and a good British or American child's book will do very well for a Canadian child up to the age of ten or eleven. Canadian publishers have tried to compensate for this fact by concentrating largely on Indian legends and on adventure stories based on Canadian history, but without notable success. This is a highly professional field of literary craftsmanship, very much controlled by supply and demand, and it would seem that the decline is due less to the lack of writers than to the lack of interest in Canadian juveniles on the part of parents and perhaps also of children, who are inhabitants of microcosms rather than of nations. This may be one situation in which we should “not strive/Officiously to keep alive.”

### Summary

Literature in Canada is a vigorous, growing, and continuing tradition, with a richly developing literary ambience. In most fields the number of books is increasing, and so is the number of competent writers, and the availability of talent and dedication presses constantly on publishing resources. In one field at least, drama, there exists a body of writers whose abilities the publishing industry has neglected, as until recently it did those of short story writers. Some fields, such as humour, the polite

essay, and the juvenile, appear to be moribund, and might be allowed to die in peace. Current affairs borders so closely on the field of topical journalism that the demands of the market should in this case be the ruling criterion. In poetry, fiction, criticism, history, and biography the writing resources seem to be ample and vigorous, and as these particular genres, together with drama, are those most important to our culture, they should be the recipients of discriminating patronage. In providing such patronage, the first thought should be to present authors with time and freedom from avoidable anxieties, the second to subsidize individual books, and particularly the kind of books of international importance now published outside Canada by Canadian authors, so that we develop a well-rounded publishing industry. There seems no justification for unconditional subsidies to publishers.

GEORGE WOODCOCK has been editor of *Canadian Literature* since that journal was founded in 1959, and has been closely involved in what has been happening in Canadian writing and publishing during that period and before. He is the author of a volume of essays on Canadian writers, *Odysseus Ever Returning*, individual studies of Hugh MacLennan and Mordecai Richler, and a survey of Canadian society and culture, *Canada and the Canadians*; has edited collections of essays on Malcolm Lowry and Wyndham Lewis in Canada; and has written many reviews on Canadian writers. He is a former associate professor of English at the University of British Columbia.

# *Sources of Financial Assistance to Authors and Publishers*

ROBIN M. FARR

This paper is intended to provide, in effect, an inventory of the programs of financial assistance which are currently available to Canadian writers and publishers. Such an inventory is necessarily confined to the more visible forms of direct support such as bursaries and grants to writers, publication subsidies and the special incentives provided by literary awards and prizes. These types of direct financial assistance can be measured, quantified, and evaluated. Less apparent and more difficult to measure or evaluate is the indirect, and largely hidden, support which Canadian publishers themselves have provided by issuing books which they knew to be marginal but which they supported with revenues earned from other parts of their lists because they believed that the books merited publication. The best publishing is always, at least in part, an act of faith: the real satisfaction for the publisher comes from publishing books which excite him and which he believes should be published, even at a calculated loss.

It is impossible to do more here than acknowledge this form of support to Canadian writing. The amount involved over many years cannot now be retrieved and collected into any statistic. Yet it has been a common fact in Canadian publishing and deserves not to be overlooked in any discussion of financial support to the country's writers. In issuing such books the publisher is responding to obligations other than the rule of the balance sheet. It is this fact which has made publishing a business unlike most others. Publishing is essentially creative, and for this reason it often combines uneasily with the dictates of business.

Programs of direct support can be more easily catalogued from numerous annual reports and other accounts. The names and statistics so revealed provide a surface impression which seems oddly isolated from the creative processes of writing and publishing. Yet the real significance of programs of financial assistance cannot be fully understood except in this context. Essentially they represent an investment in



the creative capacity of people, and beyond that an investment in something so elusive that it can be defined only in terms of the vision which our literature provides. And without vision, it has been said, the people will perish.

#### THE CANADA COUNCIL

The Canada Council, an agency of the Government of Canada reporting to the Secretary of State, is undoubtedly the best known and the most important source of assistance to publishing and writing in this country. Over the years, the Council has been beset by all the difficulties and problems which seem to be indigenous to any granting institution: the setting of appropriate priorities and levels of support for its various jurisdictions; the problem of equating the demand for assistance to the available financial resources; the inevitable controversy and criticism which surround some decisions. Easy generalizations have been made about its apparently slow and insensitive apparatus for selection of grants and awards. Yet it is a massive and visible presence in the cultural life of Canada. Indeed, so deeply embedded has it become in that life, and so rapidly have its programs of support broadened, that many do not realize that it is still a relatively young institution. The Canada Council Act which established it received royal assent on 28 March 1957.

For purposes of financial management, the Council's programs are administered under three divisions. The regular programs (including support of the arts, humanities, and social sciences) are financed from income earned from the investment of its Endowment Fund and from periodic government grants. It also operates a University Capital Grants program, and special programs which are administered from funds donated to the Council for specific purposes. In the latter category the Council has received some remarkable donations, most notably the Killam Trust Fund. Initially, Parliament allocated to the Council funds totalling \$100,000,000. Of this amount one-half originally formed the Endowment Fund. The balance became the University Capital Grants Fund, which has provided important support for the growth of Canadian higher education and which – in so far as it has provided facilities for teaching and scholarly research – indirectly (if immeasurably) also has benefited both literary and scholarly writing.

The objectives of the Council, as described in the act, are "to foster and promote the study and enjoyment of works in the arts, humanities and social sciences." The arts were interpreted to mean architecture, theatre, literature, music, painting, sculpture, the visual arts, and "other similar creative and interpretive activities." The Council received a broad and general mandate to achieve these objectives and, perhaps most important, almost complete autonomy in its operation.

In the early years the officers of the Council and their advisers wrestled with many problems which continue to challenge them. Since the Council was free from control by Parliament (subject only to an obligation to report annually and

to submit its accounts and financial transactions to audit), the real challenge was to translate the general language of the act into practical programs and activities. Its earliest reports reveal the Council's basic concern that it obtain the best value for the country from its expenditures. In order to implement policy, it had to define the academic disciplines which would be included under the general classifications of "humanities" and "social sciences"; it had to decide how much of the revenue from the Endowment Fund could be allocated to the arts and how much to more academic areas; it had to wrestle with the measure of support it would give to organizations and to individuals.

In its opening statements the Council was careful to point out that it should not be considered the total source of support for the arts in Canada, that it would not take the place of public grants or private benefaction. In his opening address, its first chairman foresaw some of the future controversy in remarking that "there will not be enough revenue to meet all demands and no one will agree with all [our] choices. We shall be fair game for the critics."

In its early years, the Council depended on a small staff and several panels of advisers to identify programs, establish policy, and set priorities. This pattern has remained essentially unchanged although staff and advisory panels have greatly enlarged. From the beginning the Council depended upon the Humanities Research Council and the Social Science Research Council to advise on the application of publication grants in these two broad areas. This association developed over the years into an arrangement which exists now whereby, in making grants to publications in their respective disciplines, the two Research Councils administer a substantial program of direct aid to academic publications based on block grants received from the Canada Council.

The early reports of the Council indicated a concern to identify practical programs of assistance to book publishing. The first subsidies were in support of the publication of scholarly books, but in its initial report the Council revealed that it was giving consideration "to the possible value of other forms of assistance, including subsidies for translations, block purchase of new books for distribution abroad, encouragement for the reproduction of books of lasting value and other projects." In order to determine general policy and to set directions for development, the Council convened the Kingston Conference in 1957, with separate panels on drama, opera and ballet, music, the visual arts, and writing. It is interesting that although the panel on writing included several distinguished academic and literary authors, there was no voice to represent the country's book publishers.

Following the Kingston Conference, the Council progressed from broad policy matters to definition of programs. Its early annual reports indicated concern about the division of financial resources among the arts, humanities, and social sciences, the appropriation of funds to each of the main divisions in the arts field, the extent to which it should engage in the awarding of prizes, and whether or not it should

subsidize the publication of literary works. It also grappled with the problem of how best to use the devices of philanthropic leverage: matching grants, backing success, multiplying successful experience, – in the Council's words, "how to single out and emphasize by every means the importance of creative talent."

There was then, as now, no formula whereby products in the arts field could be measured on a cost-benefit ratio, nor did there seem to be many general rules which could be applied. One of the earliest reports revealed "a difference of opinion over the value of awards, cash prizes and competitions." It is a measure of the Council's flexibility over the years that it has, for some time now, reversed the position it took in its first report that "as a general rule publication of fictional and other popular books should not be subsidized except by contributing to the cost of translation." Subsidy to support the cost of translation has indeed remained one of the most accessible sources of assistance in the Council's program; yet relatively few translation grants have been made over the years.

The Council's early grants to the arts revealed a characteristic which remains largely unchanged. By substantial margins the largest measures of support have gone to the performing arts (in which more organizations, societies, and festivals operate) than to writing and publishing. The pattern was set in the first year when the Council awarded \$639,300 in grants to orchestras, musical societies, ballet guilds, theatres, and festivals, and \$10,000 to support publication and writing, all in the academic area. The awards to individuals in the first year included only one writing award, to E. J. Pratt in recognition of his seventy-fifth birthday.

Support to the writing area of the arts in the early years of the Council was modest and tenuous. Nevertheless, the fact that such an organization as the Canada Council existed seemed important in itself, and its grants program to publishing and writing steadily increased. Over the next ten years (to 1966–7) the Council allocated approximately \$1,000,000 to writing, the largest share of it as individual awards and bursaries to authors. Some of this support was, however, devoted to book publishing (especially as publication subsidies for scholarly books) and to periodicals. In its tenth annual report, the Council indicated that it was still seeking the most effective means of aid to writers and publishers and searching for "ways of making our aid supple enough" to answer their needs. There continued to be shifts in emphasis and direction. Although support to writing in Canada increased in absolute terms, it is impossible to know from Council records how effectively it kept pace with the increase in applications and requests for assistance.

The Council's support to writing has been distributed under several programs: the Senior Awards Program for established writers (up to \$7,000) which disappeared in 1969–70 due to budget constraints but has been reinstated since; bursaries (up to \$3,500); short-term grants (up to \$1,350); and travel grants. Over the past three years (1968 to 1971) the Council's program of grants to individuals has remained fairly constant, slightly exceeding \$300,000 each year. Awards from the



Canada Council to emerging writers represent an investment of "risk capital" somewhat similar to the publisher's risk in producing the first work of a new writer: they are often a prospector's stake based upon limited ore samples. The grants are recommended by appointed juries on the basis of the literary merit of the manuscripts submitted. (In addition, the officers of the Council are assisted by an arts panel which reviews total policy in the arts field and advises on the distribution and allocation of financial resources between the various jurisdictions.) Letters of application for grants are accompanied by referees' reports and recommendations, and nothing more clearly demonstrates the close relationship between author and publisher than the sponsorship by publishers of authors for grants (an experience common to almost every publishing executive in Canada). It can be argued that in any grants program in creative writing, although the writers are the direct recipients of assistance, the program has substantial indirect benefit to the publishers at a later stage. The grants program provides the seed money to create material which will eventually become part of a publisher's list.

The Canada Council also supports writing through a subsidy program for the publication of books and periodicals, through grants to organizations (including the writers-in-residence and poetry reading programs), and through its funding of the Governor-General's Awards. It also, as already noted, makes block grants to the Humanities and Social Science Research Councils which in part support publication of scholarly works, as well as making its own direct publication grants in these two areas.

Each annual report of the Council contains a brief statement on its support to writing which, if carefully read, provides an insight into shifts in activities and changes in general policy. Thus it was in the heady period of the Centennial that the Council commented, "we pay most particular attention to young writers": in that year it instituted a number of grants within a program called Sponsored Writers, designed to support young writers recommended by established authors and critics. In the same report, the Council declared its intention to continue "to support the publication of literary periodicals . . . and the publication of books in both French and English." The purposes of the publication support was said to be "to ensure the appearance of new works which might not otherwise get into print . . . [and] to hold down the price of the book." Both these aspects of publication grants will be examined later.

The Centennial period was a moment of high excitement for Canada and this was reflected in the largest number of Senior Awards in the Council's history. In the following year (1968-9) the Council again referred to young writers, but regretted that its grants could not have been larger because of restricted financial resources. Nevertheless, the Senior Awards were continued and bursaries and short-term grants remained at about the same level as in 1967-8. In the same year, the Council noted that it had not been "content merely to assist writers to write"



and that "through subsidies to publishing houses we have afforded the public access to novels and collections of poetry and essays which might otherwise not have seen the light of day."

By 1969-70 the cooling budgetary winds had become more chill and the Council appended a special section entitled "Notes in a Time of Austerity." This was reflected in the dropping of the Senior Awards. The Council again mentioned grants for publication as a means "to offset anticipated losses on works of literary value" and made particular reference to the importance of the small literary presses as new outlets and to the problems of distribution faced by small presses in a country as vast as Canada.

The Council invariably includes in its annual report a review of levels of subsidy for the arts over the previous several years. Total grants are shown for the various fields - music, opera, dance, theatre, festivals, visual arts, and writing. These figures reveal that the Council's support of writing and publishing has not proportionately kept pace with the general increase in its total financial support to the arts. In its 1969-70 report, the Council announced that its funds for subsidy to the arts in general had increased sixfold in the five years previous to 1969. While this was true for the total program, the increase in the program of support to writing over this period had been substantially less than sixfold. In two of the last four years, writing has attracted the smallest actual dollar support among the various major fields of assistance to the arts.

The level of subsidy to the writing section of the arts program has increased from \$544,000 in 1968-9 (of which approximately \$25,000 was for direct support of English-language book publishing and \$331,000 was in grants to individual writers) to \$637,000 in 1970-1 (of which approximately \$60,000 was for direct support to English-language book publishing and \$326,000 was in grants to individual writers). To the poor relation of the arts family, such levels of subsidy would seem handsome largesse. Further analysis, however, raises questions regarding the priorities which govern the Council's granting. For example, total grants in all the arts fields during the same years increased from \$8,766,000 to \$10,378,000. This means that the total declared support to writing represented little more than six per cent of the support provided to the six arts fields. One can recognize the heavy burden of demand upon the Council's financial resources by all the arts, and can appreciate as well the significantly larger "production costs" in areas such as music, opera, and theatre. It is invidious to attempt comparisons between these various areas, all so deserving of support. Yet it is possible to speculate on the relative size of audience which benefits from support to one of the performing arts compared with the audience which can be reached by the publication of a book. One copy of a book residing in a larger public library could conceivably bring enjoyment and enrichment to an audience equal at least to a single evening's appearance of a performing arts group. Stated the other way around, a given amount of support in the area of

writing and publishing may have more substantial benefit for larger numbers of people than the same amount directed to any of the other arts fields. Any such analysis is probably impossible, however, and certainly has never been attempted by the Council. The larger, and perhaps insoluble, question of the relative importance of the various arts fields in terms of Canada's cultural heritage can lead to dangerous value judgments and prejudiced assumptions. Each constituent, after all, has his own vested interest.

If less than seven per cent of the whole arts purse went to support writing, what proportion of that share was of real benefit to the book author and publisher in Canada? Closer examination of the grants contained in the Council's 1969-70 annual report reveals that of the total writing subsidy of \$520,000, approximately \$45,000 (less than nine per cent) supported English-language books. The book publication grants have been consistently inflated in Council reports by the inclusion of grants for catalogues produced by art galleries (which would seem to belong more properly within the visual arts section). The total writing subsidy also includes the Canada Council's support to periodicals, but not all of these are literary journals. In 1969-70, for example, two periodicals devoted exclusively to the visual arts, and oddly classified under writing, received a total of \$100,000 of subsidy, considerably more than was awarded to book publication in that year. In the same year, the Council's grants to individual writers totalled \$327,000, of which \$7,000 was awarded for poetry readings and \$17,000 in support of the Council's writers-in-residence program. From this analysis it is apparent that the actual support for English-language book authors and publishers is somewhat less than three per cent of the total arts subsidy. This rather dismal calculation must be set, of course, in the context of the whole spectrum of demands made upon the Council's resources. The setting of priorities to govern spending in the arts is, quite properly, the Council's private prerogative.

From the outset the Council has attempted to be flexible both in weighing the demands made upon its resources and in identifying areas deserving support which it has previously neglected. Most of its constituents could suggest such areas of neglect and may be impatient with the pace at which the Council implements new programs. Flexibility is obviously essential to a fund-granting agency if its support is not to become stereotyped and hardened into traditional patterns. For some time there has been a growing awareness of a middle ground of Canadian writing lying between the Council's support of academic writing on one side and what it has interpreted – perhaps narrowly – as “literary” on the other. This is the broad field of contemporary social and political comment, superior journalism, biography and memoirs of the less than great, and regional histories. To serve this diffuse but growing field, the Council is introducing the Canadian Horizons Program. The emphasis in this new program is to be on non-academic work which, although built upon the foundation of scholarly research, will appeal to a more general audience.

The Council plans to offer support under this new program to both writing and publishing which might be broadly described as non-academic, nonfiction. Applications will be adjudicated by the same techniques employed in the literary section of the arts program. To some extent the program is meant to extend the interest in regional and social history which was generated by the Centennial fervour and frequently supported at that time through special Centennial projects. In its announcement, the Council said Canadian Horizons was intended to support "the preparation of Canadian reference material to be available for the benefit of the educational system of the country" and to "bring the results of University research out of the learned journals and more into the public domain in a form in which it can be widely appreciated."

A further example of the Council's flexibility is its willingness in the past four years to entertain applications for support of juvenile writing, an area it had previously excluded by policy decision. Its interest in children's literature does not, however, extend to any work which it can construe as educational; it will not accept applications for subsidization, grants, or awards in the area of educational writing.

Not all the Council's support of writing is contained in the arts program. The general programs in the social sciences and humanities contain many research grants which result in scholarly manuscripts. This work, when published, may later provide source material for more popular trade books ultimately produced by the commercial publisher. There is, in other words, a cumulative effect to many of the Canada Council's programs of support.

The block grants to the Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Social Science Research Council of Canada are employed to support scholarly writing and publishing in these areas. The publication grants which these two Councils in turn award have tended in the past to be of fixed amounts unrelated to any specific part of the total cost of publication. (The Councils report that attempts to relate grants to specific areas of publication cost have been unsuccessful, chiefly because of the differences in publishers' accounting methods.)

The grants made by the Research Councils are intended to make available through publication the works of Canadian academic authors, and are not confined to Canadian publishers: British, European, and American publishers have also received publication subsidies from them. The scholarly community is after all international and a significant amount of the scholarly writing produced in Canada is of interest abroad. Furthermore, scholarly publishing cannot always take place in Canada because of the limited number of university presses in this country and the limited financial ability of Canadian commercial publishers to add scholarly titles to their lists or to successfully market such books. In the period between April 1968 and August 1971, the Social Science Research Council awarded \$93,000 in publication subsidies to Canadian academic and commercial publishers and \$27,800 in sub-



sidies to American and European publishers. In the same period the Humanities Research Council awarded \$107,900 in support of publications issued by Canadian university and commercial publishers and \$49,200 in subsidies to publishers abroad. As with works subsidized by the other funds of the Canada Council, authors' royalties are paid by the publishers on works supported under these programs. There has been no recent attempt to have subsidy take the place of royalty or to attempt any recovery of subsidy through the capture of author's royalties.

In the 1970-1 year the Canada Council was able to reinstate its Senior Awards and, in addition, made the first grant to an English-language publishing house to cover costs of editorial service. This represented the first subsidy to support operating costs in English-language publishing, a pattern established in French-language publishing in the previous year.

Several observations can be made about the Council's support of writing and publishing over the years. First, it is obvious that both the Council and its advisory panels have benefited from the advice of many distinguished writers, both literary and academic. The problems of authors, obviously, are not unknown within the inner forums of the Canada Council. The publishing community, however, has not been as adequately represented in the Council membership or on the advisory panels, nor has there been a voice from either commercial or scholarly publishing in Canada which could be heard on general matters of policy at the highest levels of the Council. Since the Council has, for many years, declared its intention to assist not only in the creation of literary and academic works but also in their publication, this absence of senior publishers, who could interpret some of the problems and complexities of publishing and advise on the most effective grants program in this area, is surprising. The publishing industry is sufficiently professional to preclude the possibility of a conflict of interest developing in such representation.

Second, it is probably at least an approximate truth that the Council, in awarding publication subsidies, has been more concerned with literary merit than with financial considerations. One of the major problems in directing the publishing grants program has been the lack of a uniform analysis of costs which could be used as a basis for such grants. Although the Council requests that certain details regarding publication costs accompany each application (and at one time provided a summary sheet for details of estimated cost and revenue), this information is not now requested on a uniform basis and consequently the grants lack consistency in relation to any specific part of the costs of book publication.

In this connection, the one-time costs of preparation are the most inhibiting for the publisher, particularly in the type of publication most likely to require Council subsidy. If the publication subsidy supports more than the one-time costs (and if this is reflected in the pricing structure of the book), it is conceivable that the publisher can be more damaged than aided because he will be unable, should the book prove unexpectedly successful, to reprint it and maintain any semblance of the



original price. All evidence moreover suggests that publishers make fair and full disclosures of their publication budgets, yet many publishers complain that the grants received are generally less than the amount requested. The Council treats each application for publication subsidy on an *ad hoc* basis, examining only the larger or more unusual applications in any detail.

This procedure means that it is virtually impossible to determine the exact result of a publication grant in terms of the publisher's costs or to relate the subsidies directly to either of the two main purposes which the Council has emphasized over the years: to effect a lower selling price or to make the act of publication itself possible. Although these two factors are closely interrelated they can be distinct and separate. It is possible to effect a reduction in the selling price of a book which, although marginal, would still be published. On the other hand, a subsidy can make possible publication (without direct loss to the publisher) of a book which must still be burdened with a high selling price. Publication subsidy may also allow the publisher to raise the standard of production without affecting the selling price. The analysis of publication budgets becomes a matter of critical importance if the Council wishes to achieve consistent objectives in its program of grants. Since the Council will not grant support for incomplete manuscripts, there is no insurmountable problem to obtaining all the required cost information.

It is interesting to note that the Council has devised a flexible system of subsidy for French-language literary publishing which relates the amount of subvention directly to the size of the manuscript. The amount of subvention is adjusted according to the length of manuscript and this rate structure is subject to review and revision as printing costs increase.

A final observation relates to the influence of the subsidy on the publishing decision. Both the Council in reaching its decision to subsidize publication, and the publisher in arriving at the decision to publish, are insistent that their separate decisions should be based on judgment of literary merit. Usually there is no conflict between the Council and the publisher. Yet there is the constant risk that financial support for publications removes, at least to some degree, the publishing decision from the publisher to the fund-granting agency. The Canada Council, quite properly, takes the view that its publication support is based on its judgment of literary merit as adjudicated by its juries. If the publisher's decision is, to any degree, dependent upon the availability of a subsidy, the quality of his decision is inevitably eroded. This is a problem of considerable subtlety and no certain solution. There have been a number of examples in Canadian publishing where the publisher and the Council have been opposed in their judgment of the literary merit of a work requiring subsidy. It is important that the publisher preserve the integrity of his imprint, which he can achieve only by reaching a publishing decision prior to application for support. Publication, as much as subsidy, is essentially an act of faith.

In its most recent report the Canada Council described publication grants as a

bridge between the writer and the reader. This is an appropriate perspective. Publication grants also may be related to the research grants made in the humanities and social sciences, and the bursaries and awards made in the literary field. Over the past several years the Council's research grants reveal a sharply ascending curve. The grants in aid of publication in the social sciences and the humanities have followed an almost exactly parallel upward curve, but with a time difference of approximately three years. The increasing number of grants and bursaries to creative writers, which fulfil much the same function as research grants in the academic areas, will undoubtedly produce a similar pattern in applications for publication support within a similar time frame.

Reactions and comments on the Canada Council's performance in support of writing and publishing are as many and varied as one would expect in two such communities of individuals. Although many authors and publishers may chafe at certain aspects of the Council's programs and at what they perceive to be deficiencies in the Council's activities, most express unqualified agreement with the central purposes of the Canada Council. To many it has seemed almost sufficient in itself that such an institution, endowed with a broad mandate, and able to operate with such freedom from government control, exists on the national scene.

#### ONTARIO ARTS COUNCIL

The first plans for the Province of Ontario Council for the Arts (now the Ontario Arts Council) emerged from a meeting of the Canadian Conference for the Arts in 1961. They were refined in a meeting of thirteen Ontario arts organizations, held in March 1962, which recommended that the Ontario government create an agency specifically constituted to assist the arts in the province. The new body was established by a provincial act on 26 April 1963. The Council reports to the Minister of Education and derives its funds from his department. The wording of the legislation which created the Council was sufficiently general to allow considerable latitude in its interpretation of its role: "It is the function of the Council, and it has the power, to promote the study and enjoyment of, and the production of, works in the arts."

The Council's grants program over most of the period since 1963 has shown a concern for the performing arts to the almost total neglect of writing. Its annual reports from 1963-4 to 1969-70 document this fact. Total grants and projects of the Council rose from \$300,000 to \$866,531 during these years. Yet it was not until October 1969 (more than six years after it was established) that the Council appointed a literary officer to its secretariat and, even then, provided him with dual responsibility for literature and films.

In 1967-8 the Council took the theme in its annual report that it "threw pebbles in the pond"; yet it had created no significant ripples on the literary pond in

Ontario. In that report the Council described itself as a modern Medici and supported this with the proclamation, "We Give Money." The financial statements showed to whom the money went. That year a total of \$595,559 was awarded to the performing arts, while the literary arts continued to wait for the first pebble. In the same year the Council announced that it had commissioned a study from the critic and author, Robert Fulford, which would answer the general questions "Do writers need help? If so, what kind?" When that study was completed, the Council would "hope to know the financial position of writers"; in the meantime it was prepared to wait. In the statement of intention for this study, discussion with publishers was not mentioned.

Although the act which established the Council provided it with a mandate to distribute "grants, scholarships or loans to persons in Ontario" and "to make awards to persons in Ontario for outstanding accomplishments in the arts," the operating policy of the Council, at least during the early years, was to support the arts in Ontario through grants to organizations rather than to individual creative artists. To this end it provided support to theatre groups, rather than to playwrights; to orchestras, rather than to musicians; to galleries, rather than to painters. It was not difficult within such a policy framework to overlook the individual creative writer (although the Council apparently succeeded also in overlooking the Canadian Authors Association). There was no provision within these guidelines for support to publications. However, by 1967-8 certain literary and art periodicals were receiving grants from the Council and, in the following year, a grant was awarded to the League of Canadian Poets.

In 1969-70, although the literary officer had by now been appointed, the Council's official statement acknowledged that it "could not immediately plunge fully into grant or programming support" of the literary arts on a level commensurate with support to "the older, more corporate art forms" (the performing arts) because of lack of resources. Lack of sufficient resources to meet all needs is a constant challenge for any funding institution and undoubtedly only those administering such programs can fully appreciate the dimensions of the problem. Despite this obvious fact, an outsider could legitimately question the Council's scale of priorities, which obviously only in this year had begun to include seriously the literary life of Ontario.

The Council announced in October 1969 that it had approved a plan for the literary arts contingent upon "the acquisition of necessary new funds to implement [the plan] in 1970-1." At the same time, the Council stated that it had been searching for "the most relevant and effective areas for action" in the literary field but warned that it was "not possible to meet all needs." It proposed to award "preliminary assistance" to emerging writers (six grants of up to \$1,500) and "senior assistance" to more established writers (six grants of up to \$3,000). In addition, it proposed to help in the discovery of new writing talent by a program designed "to



get more manuscripts by emerging writers read by qualified readers and editors" (for which \$6,000 was budgeted); to send three writers on tours to universities and community colleges for readings (\$10,000 was budgeted); and to provide "books of the year" awards (\$15,150 was budgeted). The Council's plan also included commissioning a writer to "research questions of immediate and long-range practical concern to writers, journal editors, and publishers" (for which up to \$3,000 was budgeted); and to provide support to periodicals (\$7,500). The plan, if implemented, would therefore indicate a total grants program for Ontario book authors in the order of \$68,650 in 1970-1 which, based on the total of the Council's subsidies in the previous year (\$1,355,205), would represent support for this segment of the life of Ontario of less than five per cent of its total grants program.

The book-of-the-year program called for the selection of the ten best Ontario books and an award to each author of \$750. A further award of \$750 would be made to each author whose book was judged best in the categories of fiction, non-fiction, and poetry. The single best book of the year would receive another \$750. The announcement recommended that the contest culminate in October 1971.

Recent announcements by the Council indicate a shift in these plans. Thirty individual writers have been awarded grants ranging from \$300 to \$3,000, a total of \$39,800 (of which six grants were awarded in 1970 and twenty-four in 1971). Information supplied by the Council indicates that the grants in 1971 represented approximately one-half the applications received and in value (\$32,550) represented approximately one-third the amount requested. In 1970-1 the Council also awarded \$27,500 to four Canadian publishing houses, to meet obligations of authors' royalties; \$14,500 to the League of Canadian Poets and the Canadian Writers Foundation; and \$12,550 to the support of seven periodicals. The support which the Council has provided to the literary field in the last year, therefore, amounts to \$94,350, of which \$81,800 was awarded to Canadian book publishers and authors. The Council's total support of the literary arts in Ontario (as represented by book authors and publishers) stands at little more than four per cent of its total grants program during the past year.

At the time that the literary officer was appointed and plans in this field were formulated, the Council declared that it "could support the literary field only with new money from the public treasury" and that "it could not divert grant money from the other art forms" to which the Council had committed its support on a continuing basis. This statement made it apparent that the early inclination of the Council to support the performing arts in the province now was inhibiting the provision of equal support to the literary arts. It is also only within the most recent period that the Council has altered its established policy of granting exclusively to organizations and has begun a grants program to individuals in the literary field. Grants to publishers have, in every case, been directed towards the payment of royalties. The Council declared that it did not intend to enter into direct subsidy of



book publication or become involved in what it termed "direct intervention in book publication."

Recently the Council proposed a scheme for indirect support to publishing through a "book-buy plan." This provided for the selection each year of ten books published in Ontario. Awards would be made to their authors, and in addition the Council proposed to purchase and distribute 3,000 copies of each title to school and public libraries and to Ontario and federal government offices. The plan has not yet been implemented but the provision to supply libraries with the selected books suggests that the Council would undertake distribution to a segment of the book market which is not only one of the most certain, but also one of the most easily accessible, to the Ontario-based publisher.

#### SOMEWHERE OUT THERE ARE THE FOUNDATIONS

Private foundations probably represent little more than a gleam in the eye to publishers and authors as a potential source of financial assistance. The main problem, shared by both groups, is the difficulty of gaining access to foundations, largely because of lack of information. It is estimated that there are more than 1,400 foundations in Canada, a fact which would surprise most publishers and authors. Yet, despite their numbers, relatively few foundations assist writing or publishing.

Many foundations are small and were established mainly for purposes of estate planning. Others have deliberately limited their scope of activity to special fields such as medical research, or else by charter can grant only to tax-exempt organizations. Only a small number would entertain applications for support of publishing or writing. The publisher or author considering an approach to foundations for financial assistance must indeed be knowledgeable in order to select the one for which his project would be in any way appropriate. Finding the path is especially difficult because there is no complete guide, or central information agency, to foundation activity in Canada.

The only guide which has been compiled for foundations and granting agencies (published by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada) is highly selective and necessarily incomplete. Inclusion in it was on a voluntary basis and the editors reported that fewer than half the foundations approached agreed to have detailed entries published. The guide was intended to provide a source of information about foundations in order that applications could be more accurately and more relevantly directed. The difficulties in securing information led the editors to conclude that "there is a major problem in obtaining information on many Canadian foundations for no financial details are published by Canadian governments, nor is there a full list of names and addresses of Canadian foundations."

There is no equivalent in Canada of the Foundation Centre in New York, which provides the most comprehensive source of information on U.S. foundations and is

responsible for regularly issuing a foundation directory. In Britain, the establishment of the Official Register's Office has made it possible to compile a complete directory of grant-making trusts in that country. In Canada, by contrast, list-making in this field remains very much a matter of individual search and perseverance. It is safe to conclude, however, that the extent of financial assistance to writing in Canada from Canadian foundations is insignificant to the point of having no real impact on book publishing.

The lack of published information also makes it impossible to estimate the extent of foundation wealth in Canada. There is no complete survey of foundation activities, assets, or disbursements. When a foundation applies to the federal government for letters patent, the *Canada Gazette* publishes its name and location and the names of its incorporators. But the government does not publish a list of names and addresses of existing Canadian foundations, nor is there any equivalent in Canada to the Internal Revenue Service regulation in the United States which makes information about foundations in that country available to the interested public.

Although the problems of access are formidable, many Canadian foundations are endowed with considerable assets and operate significant funding programs. It is thought that Canada's fifteen largest foundations account for a total of some \$400,000,000 in assets. Yet the largest of them, the J. W. McConnell Foundation in Montreal, has the simple notation in the *AUCC Guide*: "Regards information about itself as confidential." This insistence on anonymity is all the more surprising since the McConnell Foundation (like many other Canadian foundations) is known to be truly professional in its activities, and in 1969 disbursed \$5.1 million and was ranked as the twenty-first largest foundation in North America.

It is probable that among Canadian publishers the university presses are the chief recipients of foundation assistance, but even in the area of scholarly publishing subsidies are most often awarded on an *ad hoc* basis to support specific projects. The *Financial Post* of 8 May 1971 listed more than three hundred Canadian foundations, but of this number probably fewer than twenty have been approached by Canadian publishers over the past several years.

#### THE SPECIAL ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

More than any other field of publishing activity, Canada's university presses are beset by the continual need to provide subsidies for a significant part of their publishing programs. This is because their central concern is the publication of specialized academic work, the result of scholarly research done within the university community. Without subsidy most works of pure scholarship cannot be published.

The increase in the number of university presses in Canada and the growth in the size of their publishing programs reflects the growth in the university community itself. Research and publication are inseparable since it is only through publication

that research is disseminated and made useful. In providing an important publication facility to scholarly research in Canada, the university presses aid in the advance of Canadian scholarship and the purpose they serve is consistent with the purpose of the university itself. As Canadian scholarship becomes increasingly productive, the publication demands on the university presses steadily mount. By offering the quality of publishing service to scholarship which they do, the university presses and their parent institutions have come to play a unique role in providing financial assistance to academic publishing.

The financial support which the university presses offer to academic writing takes different forms. If the press is self-supporting in terms of its operating costs, it will maintain its own internal subsidy fund and provide direct publication subsidy from the revenue it earns from its backlist (the books previously published and still active) or from subsidiary sources of income it may have. (The University of Toronto Press through such means has for several years contributed some \$200,000 per year to the support of scholarly publishings.) In some instances the university will provide financial assistance to support the operating costs of its press, thus allowing revenue to be freed for publication subsidies. The extent to which the operating costs of the university press are supported by the parent university, therefore, represents an important indirect subsidy to the publications program of that press. In addition, the university presses energetically seek subsidy from outside sources to provide additional support to their scholarly programs.

Both the demand for scholarly publication and the costs of production have risen dramatically in recent years and have outpaced the financial support which is available to them or the amount of subsidy which they can generate from their own revenues. For the university presses and their academic authors, operating as they do in an area of special need for publication subsidy, this problem is approaching crisis proportions. The financial resources of the university presses are strained to the point where their specialized publishing activities may have to be curtailed. In these circumstances Canadian scholarship will not be the only loser.

#### THE COMMISSIONED BOOK

The commissioned or sponsored book represents a special area in publishing and writing. A significant amount of social history has been preserved in military and company histories and in books commissioned by associations and institutions. The financial arrangements made with publishers and authors for commissioned books are almost as varied as the books themselves. Most frequently the commissioned work originates with the sponsoring organization, which can attach either tangible or intangible benefits to its publication. Some authors, however, have been assiduous in seeking out such writing assignments and more than one writing career has been underwritten by commission arrangements.



Frequently the sponsor will directly commission the author, thereby providing him with a livelihood during the writing period, and in addition will assist with the costs of publication, either in whole or in part. For the publisher there are no overwhelming disadvantages to such arrangements as long as the integrity of the imprint is secure and a proper author-publisher relationship is established. Under some commission arrangements the publisher will remit to the sponsor an agreed portion of the revenues earned or divide revenues with the sponsor after a certain sales level has been achieved. In other cases the sponsor will undertake to purchase a part of the printing run at an agreed price to make publication viable and allow the publisher an immediate recovery of some part of his publication costs. It is important to the publisher in such arrangements that his own market is left intact and not damaged by the distribution which the sponsor undertakes. Another variant to the commission arrangement occurs when the sponsor assumes a specific portion of the publishing cost. There are numerous instances where individuals, associations, or companies have underwritten artwork, plate costs, or other specific publishing expenses in order to achieve the publication at a reasonable price of a book in which they have identified a special interest.

#### THE ONTARIO INSTITUTE FOR STUDIES IN EDUCATION

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education is a source both of direct assistance to authors engaged in educational research and writing and of indirect assistance to publishers. Each year the Institute's editorial division accepts for publication a number of projects produced by staff members who are under contract to the Institute. These projects do not usually represent basic textbook material. They are more likely to reflect experimental work in curricula, of interest to the teacher and the professional educator. Projects which the Institute thinks might interest a commercial publisher are circulated on a descriptive list and publishers may then enter into contract negotiations with the Institute for publishing rights.

The Institute has taken the position that its most appropriate role is to sponsor research rather than to engage directly in the publication of commercially viable projects. It therefore publishes only material which commercial publishers have declined. This policy is meant to ensure that the Institute's own publishing program will not compete with publishers in the private sector.

To the present, approximately one-third of the projects circulated have been accepted by commercial publishers. These books are published under direct contract with the Institute and royalty on sales is paid by the publisher to the Institute. The Institute holds that it is the owner of the publishing properties because they are the products of research undertaken by authors under contract to it.

Although each publishing arrangement is negotiated separately, the commercial publisher receives a substantial amount of indirect assistance in such collaboration



because editorial work, and occasionally artwork and layout, is undertaken by Institute staff at the Institute's expense. The Institute also provides an indirect subsidy by underwriting developmental costs and by relieving the publisher of the author search. In the last two years seven Institute-sponsored projects have been published in the commercial sector.

#### ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

The Government of Quebec operates several programs of assistance to authors and publishers domiciled in that province. In total grant disbursements and clarity of objectives, the Quebec program is undoubtedly the most important of any of the provincial undertakings in this area in Canada. Location within the province is a condition of assistance to English-language publishing. In order for publishers to be eligible, fifty per cent of company shares giving voting rights on the board of directors must be held by Canadian citizens domiciled in Quebec. English-language authors, to be eligible for Quebec grants, must have been resident in the province for at least five years. Quebec residency is not, however, a condition for French-language writers.

The programs are administered through the Department of Cultural Affairs, which has no exact equivalent in other provinces. The Department has provided subsidy for creative work (poetry and fiction) and nonfiction generally (although work on the "literature, history or civilization" of French Canada enjoys priority in selection). Manuscripts must be submitted by the publisher with details on publication costs and selling price.

In addition, a separate program (Aid to Creativity and Research Service) was established in 1963 specifically to encourage creative writers. Between 1963 (the year the Ontario Arts Council was established) and 1971, this program received 2,000 applications for assistance and awarded 430 grants totalling \$1,240,400. The program operates in the fields of theatre, music, plastic arts, film, and the "human sciences": somewhat unusually, it is designed as a competition and awards are made only once a year by juries appointed in each of the fields supported. The Department's support for authors has risen from \$5,000 in its first year to \$66,550 in 1969-70 and its total support of writing in Quebec in the Service des Lettres program (including grants to associations and periodicals) has exceeded \$1,121,000 over the past nine years. Budget restrictions have caused the recent suspension of these programs.

#### A NEW PROGRAM IN ALBERTA

The government of Alberta, in its new Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation, has established a Creative Writing Division in the Cultural Development

Branch. The Division's broad mandate is to "advance creative writing" in the province and it is now searching out the programs which will implement this objective. Two immediate projects will be the award of a \$1,000 prize to an Alberta first novel and incentive grants (probably of \$1,000 each) to selected Alberta writers for projects approved by the Division. In designing its programs, the Division plans to rely on the Canadian Authors Association for counsel and support. The program is directed to the assistance of authors (rather than publishers) in Alberta.

#### GOVERNMENT PUBLISHING IN CANADA

Government publishing in Canada spans a vast spectrum of subject areas and encompasses many levels of publication. The surface of most government publishing programs is represented by reports, surveys, and studies directly commissioned for government purposes. Each year the various levels of government in Canada produce a veritable flood of such material, much of which supports or explains (and occasionally originates) government programs. Beneath this surface, however, is an array of publications which emerge from government agencies, written by authors outside the public service and engaged under some form of contract to government.

There are essential differences, both in publishing and in writing for publication, between the public and private sectors. The author under contract to government almost invariably surrenders control over his material and his work is regarded as a direct commission. Although the resulting publication may be marketed by government, there is seldom a bond of royalty between the author and the government publisher. Government agencies such as the National Museum, the National Gallery, and the CBC, produce publications which are within the scope of their special interests. Some of these publications result from specialized research or represent the results of staff projects (much distinguished research is contained in the publications program of the National Museum); others may support displays and exhibits or broadcasts; but almost invariably these publications are non-controversial in nature and unlikely to provoke public debate. There are, as well, many instances of a government undertaking the publication of a project submitted to it by an author outside the public service (many monograph series include such works) and some government agencies, such as the National Research Council of Canada, have limited subsidy funds available to support specialized publications.

Almost every government in Canada produces some publications which impinge on the educational and academic areas of publishing, and in recent years government publishing has invaded the trade publishing field. A notable aspect of government publishing is the absence of a clear policy or definition of purpose, which leads publishers in the private sector to regard its further encroachment as an

ever-present threat. It is not difficult for a government agency or department to justify almost any publication it wishes to undertake. The fact that governments do not generally attempt any recovery of overhead costs in their publishing programs provides them with an enormous advantage over the publisher in the private sector.

Only recently has the enlarged publishing program of the federal government been examined to determine a rationale for its activity. Information Canada (as a central government publishing operation) is currently attempting to devise a formula for co-operative publishing arrangements with the private sector which will provide for the sharing of costs and revenues of commercially viable publications emanating from the government. This is the first serious recognition by the federal government that its publishing program enjoys a preferred position which should not be used to trespass in the territory of the commercial publisher. The type of partnership arrangement which Information Canada proposes to employ would use government financing to support the developmental costs of certain publications and could represent a source of indirect financial support to the commercial publishing sector.

#### AWARDS AND PRIZES

Writing and publishing in Canada are not well served by existing awards and prizes. It is not that these are sparse in number. On the contrary, their very abundance may in fact be one of their faults. Their great deficiency is that they have such slight impact on the Canadian public.

Awards serve two purposes. On the one hand, they provide recognition of achievement for the author whose reputation is established. Perhaps the Molson Prize provides the best example of this. On the other hand, they can have a valuable role in the encouragement of new talent. Writing is essentially a lonely art and never more so than during the early stages of the writer's career. Awards and prizes won at this time bring the author a tangible form of recognition and provide the greatest incentive.

To the publisher the award should be a stimulant to sales as well as a mark of prestige. The value of the prestige attached to most Canadian awards is hard to evaluate: perhaps only the Governor-General's awards approach real standing. The stimulation to sales also remains elusive. Perhaps only the Leacock Award achieves this result, and this may be largely due to the name which attaches to the winning book.

There are notable vacancies in the field of prizes and awards for writing and publishing. Perhaps the most obvious is the absence of awards and attendant recognition for educational writing and publishing. Because of constitutional interpretations, it may be difficult for these to emanate from any Ottawa source. However, it should not be difficult for educational organizations which operate nationally to



initiate or to sponsor awards for excellence in this field. Another deficiency, which perhaps reflects the paucity of publishing activity in the field, is in the area of children's literature. Although the Governor-General's Awards do not preclude the recognition of juvenile writing (and, indeed, have included some notable winners in this area) there is no other award of national significance to recognize achievement in this field. The Metcalfe award, given by the Canadian Authors Association, is a commendable but still inadequate approach to filling this need. A third deficiency is the lack of suitable recognition for Canadian typography and book design. Although there are various competitions sponsored by art directors' associations, there is no national award which would recognize the significant development which has occurred in this field generally in Canadian publishing. The typographic awards sponsored by the Rolland Paper Company, which flourished for several years, were probably the closest Canadian approach to such status.

Much of the general deficiency of the awards and prizes available for Canadian literature stems from the lack of publicity and promotion attending them. Recognizing the differences in population, size, and markets between the United States and Canada, it is still possible to visualize Canadian awards which would have the stature, prominence, and attendant sales effect that the Newberry Prize and the National Book Awards have in the United States. Unfortunately, most Canadian awards go largely unnoticed and unrecognized by the news media and the general public alike. As Margaret Laurence has said, "The day we have rows in Canada over a Council award, as they do in France over the Prix Goncourt, is the day we will have reached cultural maturity."

Certainly the most distinguished solely literary prize in Canada is the Governor-General's Award. This annual award was instituted in 1937 by the Canadian Authors Association, which assumed responsibility for its administration and the attendant expenses. Originally awards were offered in three sections of English-language literature: fiction, poetry and drama, and nonfiction. In 1942 the nonfiction category was divided into creative and academic nonfiction, and in 1947 the scope of the award was extended to include juvenile writing.

By 1944, the Governor-General's Award had become sufficiently formalized that the CAA created a special Award Board to supervise the selection and judging. Ten years later this board became the autonomous and self-perpetuating body which it has remained to the present time. (The Canada Council, which is now responsible for the Governor-General's Awards has indicated that it wishes to broaden the board's membership.) In 1959 the Canada Council began the practice of attaching a cash prize (of \$1,000) to the more intangible benefits of the award, and this amount has since risen to \$2,500. The Council also enlarged the scope of the ceremony surrounding the presentation of the award by acting as host to a reception and dinner. In 1965 the award categories were reduced to three (poetry and drama, fiction, and nonfiction), and works in the French language were made eligible.



Despite the criticism which occasionally surrounds the selection and the selection process, the Governor-General's Awards have an established eminence in the literary field. What they lack is the appropriate publicity and promotion which it is difficult, perhaps, to associate with the august atmosphere of Government House in Ottawa but nevertheless essential to gaining significant public attention and news value. Most people attending the presentation ceremonies come away with the feeling that the award has been so smothered by pomp and ceremony that it has become almost insulated from the public. It was such a reaction that led an Ottawa newspaper reporter to comment following the last such occasion that "in high level cultural affairs, so called, it seems to many that these are open to only an elite few meeting to bore one another. Where, the critic asked, are the rest of us, the general citizenry?" Strangely enough, it is only within the last few years that members of the press and news media were even invited to the awards ceremony. The failure to achieve the publicity the awards deserve is well illustrated by the experience of the book editor of a Toronto newspaper travelling by train to attend the award ceremony.

It was, after all, the top honor this country gives to its writers, so I wasn't surprised when the Liberal MP sitting in the same club car on the train seemed interested.

"The Governor-General's literary awards, eh? Yes. I see." He paused reflectively. "When are the winners announced?"

"Two months ago," I replied gently. "Oh," he said, and went back to his newspaper.

The indifference of the press is further emphasized by the strange occurrence in recent years when non-acceptance of the award has received greater attention than the award itself. The granting of a mock Governor-General's Award to a losing poet, whom the literary community felt most deserved the real thing, attracted more Toronto press coverage than did the award ceremony in Ottawa.

In 1961 the Canada Council created the Canada Council Medal which has since been conferred upon a number of distinguished writers. Unlike many other awards made in Canada, the new medal was not associated with any specific work in one year, but was to be granted for distinguished achievement over an extended period. In announcing the medal the Council referred to it as "a salute to a career of at least such duration that its nature has been unmistakably defined, and its merit and service to Canada have become evident." The medal is accompanied by a cash award of \$2,000.

In 1963 the Canada Council received a gift from the Molson Foundation, the income from which is used to provide annual prizes of \$15,000 each, known as the Molson Prizes of the Canada Council. Originally two prizes were awarded each year but an increase in the Molson endowment two years ago has permitted the number to be raised to three. Again the award was for distinguished service; the recipients were to be between the ages of 35 and 70 and recognized as authorities in their chosen fields. The Molson Prize is the most substantial monetary award in

Canada and is intended to add prestige to the pursuit of the arts, humanities, and social sciences in this country.

The Leacock Award is given annually to the best book of humour written in Canada in any form. The award originated in 1946 on the initiative of the Stephen Leacock Associates of Orillia and selection was first placed in the hands of the Governor-General's Award Board. In 1959 the Associates took over the responsibility for the selection and judging and the dinner at which the award is presented.

There are, as well, a number of more specialized literary awards. The University of Western Ontario President's Medals, which were first given in 1951, are awarded in three special categories: the short story, the single poem, and the best journal article (either general or academic.) The University of British Columbia Medal for Popular Biography (also established in 1951) has had a number of distinguished winners because of the significance of this field of writing in Canadian literature. The Canadian Chapter of Beta Sigma Phi awards a cash prize of \$1,000 to the best first novel written in Canada; this award was also administered by the Governor-General's Award Board until 1959, when it was removed to an independent panel of judges. The University of Alberta National Awards are made in the fields of letters, music, and painting and are meant to recognize public service in the development of these arts: selections are made by organizations in each field (the Canadian Authors Association in the field of literature), and in recent years the award has been reduced to one a year to be given in any one of the three categories.

In the Province of Quebec the most established award is the Prix David, of \$5,000 a year, given to encourage the production of literary and scientific works within the province. This competition was established in 1922 and has been administered by the Department of Cultural Affairs since 1961. Awards are given in the fields of literature in the French language, literature in the English language, moral and political sciences, physical sciences, and French-language juvenile literature. The France-Quebec Literary Prize is given by the Association of French-language Writers each year and is funded in France. The Prix Duvernay is an annual literary prize awarded by the St. Jean Baptiste Society to French-Canadian authors judged to be outstanding in the "furtherance of French-Canadian culture."

The literary landscape is also dotted with a number of more private awards. The *Edmonton Journal*, for example, instituted a literary awards competition in 1962 which has drawn over 450 entries in recent years from Alberta authors. For many years the Ryerson Press offered a fiction award which was broadened in the last years of its existence to include a young writers' award for first work. There has also been some spillover into Canada of awards offered by American publishers, most notably, perhaps, the Little-Brown award which carries with it the guarantee of publication in Canada and the United States.

## CONCLUSION

Canada has demonstrated that it does not lack the will to commit funds in support of the arts. The National Arts Centre in Ottawa is a \$50,000,000 capital investment in the arts with a direct subsidy each year which exceeds the total annual grants program of the Ontario Council for the Arts. The Canada Council represents another substantial national commitment to the arts.

In this general and controversial area, however, two questions of fundamental importance remain unanswered. The first is the proper role of the subsidy (of whatever form) and the real justification for the act of subsidization itself. The second is the extent and priority of support which we are prepared to give to the literary arts in this country.

Considerable controversy and division of opinion surround the first question. Financial assistance of itself does not guarantee great writing or ensure excellence, or even efficiency, in publishing. Furthermore, many publishers regard publication subsidies as a sort of necessary evil and an ever-present threat to their control over the publishing decision. The nagging fear persists that subsidy ultimately places control, or at least some element of control, in the hands of the funding agency and erodes the necessary independence of the publishing judgment as well as the essential freedom of the writer.

Yet the realities of the present seem to overrule these considerations. The ranks of professional writers in Canada – those able to support themselves by their writing – are thin and publishing, for the moment at least, is a beleaguered enterprise. In these conditions the work which is marginal in marketing terms, no matter how worthy it may be, cannot always be issued. The programs which this paper has described have sustained many writers and have supported publication of many books which would not otherwise have appeared. Canadian writers have never before been more vigorous and productive and the promise this holds has never been greater. If financial support is available, and the proper safeguards of its use are maintained, it will permit the best to be written and published, and occasionally the excellent.

The more perplexing question is the priority of support which we are prepared to give to the literary arts, as represented in book publishing. The government has already established a wide range of supports in economic and social programs. Incentive grants to industry, for example, are now an accepted mechanism, widely used to stimulate the economy. Obviously, in the support of writing and publishing incentive grants serve a vastly different purpose. Despite the bureaucratic definition of the book as a "by-product of the wood industry," this large and complex question cannot be answered with any such excessive simplicity. Cost-benefit ratios and economic measurements cannot be established for this kind of support. The decision must ultimately be made by our judgment of the worth and service which the literary arts will provide to our society and the value which we place on them.

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# *Some Copyright Concerns of Canadian Authors and Publishers*

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This paper is an attempt to consider some aspects of copyright in Canada and some of the current copyright problems and concerns of Canadian authors and publishers; it is not a consideration of the legal technicalities of copyright.

A publisher is in essence an author's sponsor. He is the twentieth-century counterpart of an author's patron. His first duty is to decide whether a particular work is economically viable, and in making this decision he brings to bear his professional knowledge and experience for the benefit of the author as well as for himself. Once having decided to undertake the risk of publishing, the copyright interests of authors and publishers are closely related. The success of many authors has been made possible by the editorial and financial know-how and the marketing provided by a good publisher. For these reasons, the terms author and publisher are used almost interchangeably in this paper.

## DEFINITION OF COPYRIGHT

Copyright as defined by the Canadian Copyright Act is the exclusive right of the copyright owner to:

1. produce or reproduce the work or any substantial part in any material form; and
2. publicly perform the work or any substantial part of it, including the delivery in public of a lecture, or any substantial part thereof.

Copyright applies only to "every original literary, dramatic, musical and artistic work."

To obtain copyright protection, there must be a work in existence, expressed in material form, capable of identification. The work must involve a certain minimum of expense, labour, skill, or judgment. The work must be original, but this has been held by the courts to mean only that the form of expression originated with the

author, and was not copied. In theory at least, therefore, two works may be identical, and each entitled to copyright, so long as one was not copied from the other.

It is the *work and labour* involved in assembling and expressing ideas that copyright protects. It does not protect the ideas themselves. These are free to be used by anyone. That does not mean that only the *exact* words used by an author are protectable. The economic motivation of creation which underlies copyright would be vitiated if anyone could make a few changes in an author's wording or paraphrase a substantial part. As a noted American judge observed, copyright "cannot be limited literally to the text, else a plagiarist would escape by immaterial variations."

It is essential when considering copyright to distinguish clearly between the restraining effects of patents and those of copyrights. It is not appropriate therefore to speak of copyright as a "monopoly" in the sense in which this term is generally understood.

It is also essential to distinguish between ownership of the physical document, the book, tape, or manuscript, and the ownership of the copyright. The sale of a book or tape conveys no right of ownership to the copyright in the work which remains the property of the author or publisher until it is specifically assigned.

It has been argued by the Economic Council of Canada in their *Report on Intellectual and Industrial Property* that copyright should not be regarded as a property right, but rather as a right conferred by the state in order to promote and encourage the labours of authors. On the other hand, it may be argued that nothing is more certainly a man's property than the fruits of his brain. Copyright was regarded as a moral right long before the invention of printing, and recent studies have traced the prohibition of the "stealing of words" and the requirement of "reporting in the name of the author" to ancient rabbinical jurisprudence dating from Old Testament times. (See Victor Hazan, "The Origins of Copyright Law in Ancient Jewish Law," *Bulletin of the Copyright Society of the U.S.A.*, Vol. 18, No. 1, p. 23.) It is not necessary to become involved here with this argument. It is sufficient to state that the law attaches to copyright many of the incidents of personal property so that copyright may be bought, sold, leased, and divided into its various rights such as the performing rights, the reproduction rights, and the translation rights. Each of these rights can be separately assigned. Copyright may also be divided geographically so that the copyright to the same work may be owned by one person in the United Kingdom, by another in Canada, and by someone else in France (possibly, but not necessarily, in French translation only), and so on.

This treatment of copyright as a property right and the ability to assign separately the various rights has enabled publishers to exploit their copyrights to the maximum advantage and obtain for their authors the widest distribution. Under u.s. law, copyright is – technically, at least – not divisible. However, aided by court decisions, substantially the same results have been achieved by issuing exclusive licences to the various rights. A licensee suffers, however, from one serious disadvantage: he can-

not enforce his rights against a third-party infringer without joining the copyright owner, i.e., without the active co-operation of the copyright owner. The bill to amend the u.s. copyright law now before Congress makes copyright divisible. To abolish the divisibility of copyright would completely disrupt the distribution of intellectual works and depreciate the value of copyrights and hence the economic return to both author and publisher. As a result, fewer books would be published.

#### JUSTIFICATION OF COPYRIGHT

Does the copyright prohibition against copying of the *expression* of ideas serve to promote creativity, or as the u.s. Constitution puts it, "promote the progress of science and the useful arts"? It would seem that it does. The twentieth century has witnessed, under wider copyright incentives, an immense increase in the flow of new works from creative people and their widespread dissemination on a scale undreamt of in the philosophy of John Stuart Mill. Free permission to others to repeat or copy the expression of ideas does not encourage authors to engage in self-expression in any meaningful sense.

It is true that not all works are inspired by commercial incentives. University professors are frequently motivated by the prestige of publication, the opportunities it affords for professional advancement, and by a sincere desire to communicate with others in their field. However, such works, for the most part, rely on commercial publishing arrangements (even when made by university presses) in order to achieve maximum distribution, and it is copyright that furnishes the incentive for such distribution.

The economic justification of copyright in terms of publishing and distributing arises from the differences between the costs to the original publisher of a work and to those who imitate or copy it. These differences are due, first, to the risks of publishing an untested manuscript, which may prove completely unsuccessful; and, second, to the pre-publication costs which the first publisher must assume.

The sales of a new work cannot be accurately forecast and the first publisher must assume the risk entailed. He may overestimate the market on some works and suffer a loss, but if eventually a work sells well, he may be able to recoup his losses and make a profit. Were it not for copyright protection, an unscrupulous competitor could avoid the losses of publishing unsuccessful works and reproduce only those that had been proved commercially successful.

The first publisher must also assume substantial pre-publication costs involving research, editorial review and revision, design, the printing and reading of galley and page proofs, and many other processes. He must also pay the author a royalty. The publication of a textbook may require the investment of a few thousand dollars or several hundred thousand dollars before a single copy is reproduced. The subsequent reproduction costs per copy may be quite small, perhaps less than half

a cent per page. Without copyright protection many valuable works if published would receive a very limited distribution, and many would never be published at all.

The alternatives to providing creative incentive by copyright involve some form of government subsidy paid from taxes. Copyright provides an incentive whose cost is underwritten proportionately by the users, at no cost to government or taxpayers.

Would the protection of ideas (as distinct from the language of expression) serve to stimulate creativity? Or would such protection of ideas serve to stultify subsequent authorship and the further development of the same theme? These are difficult questions, but it is doubtful if such a change in the basis of copyright would benefit society. Writers and scholars have always profited by and built on the work of their predecessors. Professor Chafee observed that "A dwarf standing on the shoulders of a giant can see farther than the giant himself." If writers and other creators could not build on the ideas of their predecessors, creative processes would be severely circumscribed.

### *Moral Rights*

Copyright law recognizes the right of the author to claim credit for his creation and to prevent others claiming such credit, and even after the assignment of his copyright the right to prevent distortion, mutilation, or other derogatory modification of his work. Cases have occurred where by the modification of an author's work he has been made to appear to champion political or other ideas to which he was quite opposed. Both the Copyright Act and the common law give the author the right to prevent such modifications.

One of the important rights included in copyright and closely related to moral rights is the right of the owner of the copyright of a work not only to publish the work but to withdraw from circulation a work already published. The copyright owner may, of course, part with this right either absolutely or upon terms. It may well happen that an author upon further study and reflection may come to very different conclusions to those he expounded in an earlier work. The right to withdraw the earlier work from further circulation may thus be important to an author. The report on copyright of the Royal Commission on Patents, Copyright, Trade-marks and Industrial Design in Canada (the Ilsley Commission) recommended that the right of the copyright owner to withdraw a published work from further distribution be retained during the lifetime of the author.

Section 13 of the Copyright Act does, however, provide that *after the death* of an author, the Governor in Council may, on a complaint that the owner of the copyright has refused to allow the republication or the performance in public of a work, order the owner of the copyright to grant a licence to reproduce the work or perform the work in public, as the case may be, on such terms and subject to such con-



ditions as the Governor in Council may think fit. The granting of such an order is, however, purely discretionary.

### *Freedom from Censorship*

Historically, copyright law developed in part from the desire of the state to impose censorship on the publishing of so-called heretical pamphlets or books entering the British Isles from the continent. The state authorities had the power to determine what works might be published. Under the copyright system in democratic countries today, competition among publishers assures that what ultimately determines publication of a work is whether some publisher believes public demand will assure its economic viability. No government, appointed agency, or elite group has an exclusive right to decide which works shall be published. The public is the final judge.

### *Term*

The term of copyright in Canada is the life of the author and a period of fifty years after his death. However, twenty-five years after the author's death, anyone may reproduce the work by complying with certain formalities and paying a royalty to the copyright owner of ten per cent of the published price of the work he reproduces. Works unpublished on the author's death are protected until publication (with the copyright owner's consent) and for fifty years thereafter.

It has been argued that copyright should be for a fixed term only, say twenty-five years from the date of first publication. The average work, it has been said, is short-lived and a relatively short term of protection would not lessen the flow of such works. Authors would continue to write and publishers to publish as before, recouping themselves during the shorter copyright period.

On the other hand a term longer than twenty-five years is of very great importance to both society and to authors of those exceptional works which remain in demand for a longer period. The works of Arthur Sullivan sold actively even fifty years after his death and the copyrights furnished a valuable source of revenue to his heirs. It is in the interest of society that exceptional works be encouraged and that they have a widespread distribution. Copyright provides an incentive both for their creation and their distribution.

A fixed term of copyright running from the date of publication would also mean that works of the same author could fall into the public domain at different times during his lifetime. An author may well produce several works, only one of which may prove to have enduring value and from which he can recoup himself. Many notable works have not been quickly recognized or have been ahead of their time and have not sold widely until at least twenty-five years later.

The only known countries where the duration of copyright is not computed on the basis of the author's life are the United States and the Philippines. The United States proposes to adopt life plus fifty in the copyright bill now before Congress.

The term and the rights of the author are more easily and accurately determined when the last day of the year of death of the author is used for calculating the duration of copyright. A shorter term presents a problem in determining an author's rights where, for example, a first edition may have been published which had but few sales but some years later a revised edition was brought out which sold well. It is legitimate to ask in such a case whether a competitor should be able to use the first edition when it falls into the public domain and bring out his own revised edition in competition with the original author's revised edition.

There would appear to be no ideal term of copyright. All periods are arbitrary. The argument that there should be a continuing right in property which is the product of the author's own imagination has appeal. But a perpetual right of property in published works is not, however, recognized in any major country today.

At all events, it would appear that it is not now open to Canada to change the term of protection from the present life plus fifty years to a term shorter than life plus twenty-five years and still remain a member of the Universal Copyright Convention. Should Canada leave UCC, publications of her nationals would become subject to the very onerous manufacturing provisions of the U.S. Copyright Act, discussed later.

Authors and publishers must live and operate in a world-wide copyright community. Unless a universal term is adopted for copyright, works can fall into the public domain at varying times in different countries. Of the ninety-seven countries belonging to one or both of the two international copyright conventions – Berne and UCC – the period of life plus fifty years is the most common.

#### PRIVACY AND BREACH OF CONFIDENCE

An author's interest in privacy is also involved with copyright and arises chiefly in the case of unpublished works. An author may wish to create a work merely as an act of self-expression intending it only for himself or a select and limited group. Works unpublished at the author's death are protected by copyright until publication with the consent of the copyright owner and fifty years thereafter. Such works may thus be protected in perpetuity where they have not been published with the consent of the copyright owner.

A deceased author may leave an unfinished manuscript and in such a case his executor, administrator, or literary executor will often arrange for publication. If on the other hand it was the author's intention that the work should not be published, he can leave instructions to his executors in his will. No problem arises, therefore. Unpublished private papers, letters and other documents in an estate are

frequently left to a library or to public archives for safekeeping. Such papers may be of great interest to scholars. Does the librarian or archivist have the right to allow scholars or other persons to peruse these? May they be published? Does it make any difference if the persons involved are still living? Does it make any difference if they are all dead but members of their immediate family are still living? The answers to these questions are not entirely matters of copyright but involve the law of breach of confidence. Section 45 of the Copyright Act in effect provides that nothing in the Copyright Act shall be construed as abrogating any right or jurisdiction to restrain a breach of trust or confidence.

It should be observed, however, that where a work is unpublished, copies of a substantial part cannot be made for the purposes of private study, research, criticism, review, or newspaper summary even if dealt with fairly since the so-called "fair dealing" section of the Act does not apply to unpublished works. The person depositing the papers often does not own the copyright and cannot, therefore, give the librarian or archivist the right to publish or even copy a part of them. In the case of letters especially, there may be a large number of copyright owners and it is likely to be virtually impossible to locate all of them for the purpose of securing permissions. (The owner of the copyright to a letter is the writer, not the owner of the physical letter.) The archivist may, after a period of time, proceed to publish the documents in any event but he always runs the risk of someone appearing and proving his claim to copyright. The term of copyright for unpublished works, as has been noted, continues until publication has taken place with the consent of the copyright owner and for fifty years thereafter, which may mean that it continues in perpetuity.

The rights and liabilities of librarians and others in such cases should be clarified by legislation. One suggestion has been made that after a stated period of time from the date of death of the owner of such material, the public should be at liberty to use the material free from any danger of copyright or breach of confidence claims. If the time runs from the date of death of the author, it could be a difficult task to track down all the dates, particularly when the material comprises private letters with several authors. Therefore, an arbitrary period of perhaps one hundred years from the date of death of the owner of the material might adequately protect all persons concerned.

#### COPYRIGHT AND THE NEW TECHNOLOGY

The enormous advance in the techniques of reprography now pose some of the most difficult and controversial copyright problems. What should be the limits of copying by means of Xerox and other photocopying machines, and how is it possible to reconcile the needs of scholars and researchers with the equally legitimate needs of authors and publishers to be paid for their labours and to recoup their



investments? What kind of protection should be afforded a copyright owner against the use of his works in computer storage and retrieval systems, capable of long-range, multiple transmission of the stored works by wire, broadcasting and satellites?

### *Photocopying*

Authors and publishers allege that photocopying has become so widespread that it has already decreased the sales of copyright material, and that continued improvements in copying technology can only make this problem more acute. Indeed, in some areas it is said to have already affected the margin of publishability to the extent that some kinds of works are not published because of their vulnerability to photocopying.

The case for a more liberal use of photocopying has been vigorously espoused by many librarians and some educators, persons who may or may not be professional authors themselves. They allege that photocopying is but an extension of a scholar's right to make notes, and the library's right to facilitate the use of books. Modern copying devices, they claim, simply relieve the scholar from the tedium of copying by hand, and any attempt to limit copying would handicap scholars and researchers. It is argued that only a small amount of the copying done is of works by Canadian authors, and that this is a further reason for not limiting the right to copy. And finally, it is urged that most of the copying done is "fair dealing" with a work, and therefore lawful under the present Copyright Act.

The Copyright Act, as we have noted, confers on the copyright owner the exclusive right to produce or reproduce a work or *any substantial part*. There is, therefore, no infringement of copyright unless a substantial part of a work is taken and the question of "fair dealing" does not arise unless or until it has been determined that a substantial part has been taken.

The courts have held that a substantial part means an important part. Quality is more important than quantity. Thus a summary contained in a few paragraphs, or several extracts taken throughout a work, may constitute a substantial part. The question whether the part copied is likely to compete with or damage the sales of the work from which it was taken is *not relevant* in the opinion of many experts in determining whether what has been copied is substantial. The question of economic injury is relevant only to the defence of "fair dealing" in the limited class of cases to which this defence is applicable. The defence of "fair dealing" can be raised only where the copying of a substantial part of a work is for one or more of five specific purposes, and for such purposes only. These five purposes are private study, research, criticism, review, and newspaper summary.

Most of the claims justifying photocopying are made on the assumption that it is done for the purposes of private study and research. Private study, however, covers



only the case of a person copying from a work for his own use. The copier, for example, cannot make a copy for somebody else: this would not be fair dealing for that purpose. The U.K. Copyright Act prior to 1956 was almost identical with the present Canadian act; it was amended at that time to enable libraries to make single copies for patrons carrying on private study and research. The assumption by many Canadian libraries that the making of a few copies (presumably of a "substantial part") for a patron of the library or by one person for another is "fair dealing" is therefore probably erroneous.

A well documented study of the extent and nature of photocopying in Canadian university libraries was made by B. Stuart-Stubbs for the Canadian Association of College and University Libraries. This study was limited to university libraries and of the total of 1,160 copying machines in these universities, only 246 or 21.2 per cent were under the control of the reporting university libraries and formed the basis of the report's conclusions. Much of the copying in universities to which authors and publishers take exception is done in the reproduction centres of the various university faculties and on other machines not under the jurisdiction of the university libraries. The survey in question is not, therefore, indicative of copying practices in Canadian universities and it is not possible to draw any general conclusions from it as to copying practices in other institutions such as elementary and secondary schools, the CEGEPS in the province of Quebec, Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology, etc.

Reports from some of the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology in Ontario suggest that heavy copying (including the making of classroom quantities) is prevalent in many of these institutions, although no survey comparable to the one mentioned above has been made of their copying practices. Likewise, there are no exact figures on the amount of copying in elementary and secondary schools, although publishers report this to be extensive. Recently, memoranda from the departments of education of Ontario and Alberta, dealing with and warning against unauthorized reproduction of copyrighted materials in the elementary and secondary schools of those provinces, have been issued. Jean-Marie Beauchemin, the Associate Deputy Minister of Education for the province of Quebec, is making a survey of photocopying in the elementary and secondary schools and CEGEPS in that province, which the Quebec Publishers Association claims is enormous.

The U.S. Committee to Investigate Copyright Problems Affecting Communication in Science and Education, Inc. (CICPE), pursuant to a contract with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, conducted the most thorough study to date of copying practices in the United States. CICPE estimated that three billion pages of published material were copied in the U.S. in 1969. Almost 1.8 billion pages of this total were copyrighted material, 343 million pages coming from books and 1.37 billion pages from journals. It was estimated that by the end of 1971 these figures would increase by more than twenty per cent.

There has been no comparable survey conducted in Canada of the amount of copying or the kind of material copied. However, if copying in Canada has followed the U.S. pattern, an estimate of the amount of copying of books in 1969 of one-tenth the figure of 343 million pages of copyrighted books copied in the U.S. in that year would perhaps be justified. This gives us a figure of 34 million pages of books copied in Canada for 1969. By similar calculations, it can be estimated that 137 million pages from journals were copied in 1969 in Canada. If these figures are indicative of copying in this country, it is difficult to justify it by arguing that photocopying amounts to no more than a scholar using a labour-saving device to take such notes as he would formerly have taken by hand.

The motivation for copying is said to be not only the desire on the part of the user for quick and convenient access to published material, but also the fact that some educational authorities limit the budget for books but provide relatively unlimited funds for copying. Although present legislation has been satisfactory for traditional copying techniques, it is obviously not intended to provide for the new technology. Nor does the "fair dealing" clause of the Canadian Copyright Act provide a clear and precise rule to enable a librarian or other user to determine quickly the limits of copying.

### *Computers*

Computers provide a new method of reproducing and distributing the contents of copyright works. It has even been suggested that ultimately the computer could, in large measure, replace the printing press and that individuals may have in their offices and at their homes scanners linked to a central computer bank by means of which they could consult all the works stored in it, and even have "hard" copies made of any extracts they wish to keep. The author or other copyright owner will then be obliged to look to the computer-disseminator of his work to provide him with revenue.

It has been argued (falsely, it is here suggested) that a computer is really similar to a library containing a photocopying machine, and therefore the same latitude to copy as is demanded for libraries should be extended to computer owners. But computer output will serve an audience much larger and more widespread than a library; therefore, computer use would seem analogous to publishing and the exemptions of "fair dealing" if applied should be those applicable to a competing publisher. Computers pose problems not dissimilar to those posed by photocopiers, but for publishers and authors they raise new and more complex difficulties as well, which will be discussed later.

There are three stages in the use of material in a stored program of a digital computer:

1. input, when information customarily contained on a printed page is transferred to punch cards or magnetic tapes and then fed into the computer;
2. scanning and manipulating, when the raw data is searched and rejected, or parts are used according to a set of instructions or a program supplied to the machine;
3. output, when the results are retrieved in a variety of ways, including printing on paper, or production of hard copy by a reprography unit attached to the computer, or projection on a cathode ray viewer (similar to a television tube) whereby the material may be viewed and selections made for reproduction on hard copy.

The computer thus becomes not only an extension of the photocopier, but also provides tremendous possibilities for storing and for combining, manipulating, and processing and publishing information.

Publishing now is at an "in-between" period. Most of it continues to take place by traditional methods; but as time goes on more and more publications of certain kinds will be stored in computers and consulted by such means. A great deal of material stored in computers at the present time, however, is probably of little copyright significance.

Under existing Canadian copyright law, a copyright owner probably has the right to control the input of his work. Section 3(1) defines copyright as "the sole right to produce or reproduce a work . . . in any material form," and under Section 3(1) (d), the copyright owner of a literary, dramatic, or musical work has the sole right to make any contrivance by means of which the work may be mechanically performed or delivered. Thus, if a work is fed into a computer, unless it is done with the permission of the owner of the copyright or under the "fair dealing" provisions of the act, it is probably an infringement and this infringement would not depend on whether it was ever retrieved for any purpose.

Information in itself is not subject to copyright protection and there can be no objection to its storage in a computer. This point is frequently overlooked by those advocating the right to store freely all material in computer systems. Computer use of a work may require only the storing of titles, chapter headings, and index. This need not involve any infringement of copyright, according to the circumstances of the case.

It may be desirable, however, to feed in an abridgment of a work. Here a copyright problem can indeed arise. It is not proposed to go into the question of abridgments in detail here. William Wallace of the Copyright Department, Board of Trade, London, England, observed that he did not believe that "the problem of abridgments is susceptible of solution in specific words." Suffice it to say, since copyright law protects "the mode of expression and the work and labour of the author," if the abridgment does not compete (as when its effect is likely to direct the reader to the original) there is less likely to be infringement. The more skill and labour (originality) involved in making the abridgment, the less likely it is to infringe, whereas mere clerical labour, such as arranging extracts or passages in an alpha-



betical order, is likely to be an infringement. On the other hand, abridgments that are prepared as substitutes for purchasing or reading original versions are very likely to constitute infringements, and understandably so.

Computer output where the whole or a substantial part of a work is reproduced without permission from the author is an infringement. Such use of a computer to store and reproduce the exact words of a work is analogous to the function of a publisher and the three purposes for which another publisher may reproduce a "substantial part" of a copyright work – criticism, review, and newspaper summary – should probably be extended to computer systems. The test of "fair dealing" here is whether the substantial part taken is likely to affect the distribution and sales and thus compete with the original work.

A computer may also consult a work without having to reproduce a substantial part. For example, it may use a formula or table of stresses, etc., to complete a particular calculation. Control of input by the copyright owner is important in such cases – not to prevent such use (it may be socially very desirable) but to make possible some system of compensation.

There is also the difficult question of whether computer software, that is the program or instructions given to the computer which direct its operation, is or should be protected from unauthorized use by others. A computer program is a creative work and can be protected by copyright. But even though it cannot be copied and distributed without the consent of its copyright owner, there would seem to be nothing to prevent a person using such a program in a computer. The owner of the copyright of the rules for a new game, for example, can prohibit the making of copies of the rules, but he cannot prevent someone playing the game. If, however, in order to use the program it is necessary to put it on punched or magnetic tape, it is possible to argue that this is reproduction in a material form which infringes copyright. Computer programs may be written in many different computer languages and are capable of being varied in such a multitude of different ways, using the logic of a pirated program, that detection of infringement becomes very difficult. It may be that unauthorized use of computer programs should be afforded further protection by special patent legislation or a combination of copyright and patent legislation, but that is beyond the scope of this paper.

### *Long-distance Machine Copying*

Long-distance machine copying, an outgrowth of the ability to transform images on the printed page into an electronic signal, is being used more and more by industry to transmit business documents. Facsimile transmission of materials from one library to another will be common in five or ten years, and will enable a library to use a single copy of a journal or book to supply all libraries in the same network.

It can reasonably be supposed that the next step will be remote copiers for the



home, using signals from central locations via cable, hertzian waves, or even relayed from satellites. Newspapers, journals, and magazines may well be capable of being transmitted in this way. Such remote copiers need be no more complex or expensive than television sets, and indeed may even utilize home television receivers as output terminals. The technology for such devices, needless to say, already exists.

### *Satellites*

Communication satellites, operating in stationary orbits and serving as repeater stations, have already overcome many of the difficulties inherent in radio and television communication. Such orbiting relay points are now capable, however, only of point-to-point transmissions from a sending earth station to a receiving earth station: local distribution must use expensive coaxial cable and/or microwave relay links. The operators are, however, in control of any transmissions reaching the public.

Broadcast satellites now in the process of development will be able to transmit their signals directly to individual receivers in private homes and dispense with expensive relay links. Thus, with the help of a fully developed satellite system (using as few as three satellites), it will be possible for one sending station to reach nine-tenths of the world's population. However, the operators will no longer be in control of the transmissions which reach the public.

The larger geographical area of a country, the more obvious are the economic advantages of satellite communication over conventional systems. Satellite systems will also make it possible for countries with poorly developed communication networks or difficult geographical conditions to achieve complete coverage much earlier and more effectively than they could with conventional systems.

Data centres are now being linked electronically by cable. The possibility of creating an international data transmission network using satellites is already under discussion. Data transmission may become one of the major uses to which satellite systems will be put in the future.

What have such developments to do with the copyright concerns of Canadian authors and publishers? Satellite transmission may make the protection of copyright from unauthorized use difficult. A solution of illegal photocopying would seem to be the first step toward a solution of the problem of the reproduction of copyright material in computer systems supported by telecommunications facilities.

### *Typographical or Format Copyright*

The lack of protection for typographical arrangements has been a matter of concern to publishers of new editions of old literary or musical works in the public domain. The art of photolithography has long since developed to the point where once a

book or an orchestral score has been designed and printed, it is possible by photographic processes to produce reprints quickly and, compared with the costs involved in design and typesetting, relatively cheaply.

There is at present no law in Canada to prevent an unscrupulous publisher from taking advantage of a competitor's investment in a new edition of a work in the public domain, produced at considerable expense, and reproducing it by photolithography at nominal cost. If the work is accompanied by original notes and comments, the latter are protected, but there is no protection for the body of the text of a new edition of a work in the public domain. This discourages the production of new editions of old works at a time when there is an increasing need for these.

Typographical arrangements are now protected in the United Kingdom and in certain continental countries. The Economic Council of Canada has recommended that where copyright no longer exists and the publisher has gone to the expense of resetting in new type material that is in the public domain, the publisher should be given protection under the copyright law in that particular edition only for a period of ten years, reckoned from the publication in the new type style. In many cases a period of ten years may not be enough time to enable a publisher to recover his costs of resetting, printing, and binding. The United Kingdom has adopted a twenty-five-year period for similar protection and there is much to be said for achieving a uniform period in all countries.

#### COPYRIGHT IN A CANADIAN PERSPECTIVE

The threats to the security of copyright property posed by the new technology are for the most part shared by Canadian authors and publishers with their counterparts abroad. But there are many copyright problems which have a particular concern for authors and publishers in this country.

Canada's population of twenty-two million occupies a narrow strip well over four thousand miles long, adjoining an international border. More than fifteen million Canadians use English as their working language; over six million use French. Both these languages are world languages. To the south, and more easily accessible to many parts of Canada than many of the Canadian provinces are to each other, lies the United States with a population of over 200 million persons, also using English as their working language. The United Kingdom is as close, or closer, to eastern Canada than are some of the western provinces. The U.K. has a population of over fifty million persons using English as their working language. London, England, is now closer to Toronto in ease and speed of transportation and communication than it was to Liverpool or Manchester in the nineteenth century. English-language books entering Canada from the U.K. are subject to no customs barriers, and those from the U.S. are largely exempt from duty in practice. All com-

pete freely with Canadian publications in the Canadian market. Works with an exclusively Canadian content and appeal (and therefore relying on the relatively small but widely scattered Canadian market) must compete with U.S. or U.K. works on similar subject matters, even when the latter reflect a foreign viewpoint. Authors and publishers in Canada are thus in a very different position from those in many other small countries such as Sweden. Swedish authors and publishers have a linguistic monopoly enabling the native industry to remain viable in spite of the proximity of larger and wealthier foreign publishing industries.

Authorship in Canada, unlike many other countries, constitutes a full-time profession for only a few people. It has been said that in this country "only university professors and housewives can afford to write." If this describes a Canadian problem, it is obviously one that is shared with Canadian book publishers. It is true that the spread of radio and television has provided increased opportunities for Canadian authors and performers, but the proximity of the U.S. book publishing market continues to lure too many successful authors away. Canada has been more successful recently in developing a body of professional French-language authors, who have a linguistic monopoly at least in so far as the United States is concerned, but even they experience strong competition from France. The absence of a strong national body of professional authors may well have contributed to our failure thus far to create a more meaningful dialogue between the two language groups. The democratic process requires that all facts and interests relevant to our problems shall be fully and fairly presented. This is done largely by a country's writers of all kinds, aided, sponsored, and financed by publishers.

Publishing in Canada today is in a precarious position. A case can doubtless thus be made for government aid in developing a body of Canadian authors writing on matters of concern to Canadians and to a Canadian publishing industry to enable it to publish and distribute the works of such Canadian authors. But the crux of the Canadian problem would seem to be how to find additional sources of revenue for both Canadian authors and publishers within the framework of a free enterprise society, while depending as little as possible on government intervention.

In the face of this need it is hard to understand why there have been serious proposals, none widely supported it is true, that copyright protection should be abandoned in Canada or at least severely curtailed. Of course, if copyright were abandoned altogether, speculative publishing of creative writing would have no reason to continue. If publication were to occur at all in such circumstances, it would have to be brought about by *ad hoc* government action. Having regard for the problems inherent in a democratic society in delegating the making of such value judgments to government agencies, this would be a questionable solution to the public demand for printed information and entertainment. Moreover, all writing incentives would have to be paid out of public funds at considerable cost, and perhaps with little relation to the merits and possibilities of such "made to order" creativity.



## INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT

International copyright is concerned with the copyright relations between countries. In the absence of a treaty between Canada and a foreign country, there is no general principle of international law requiring such a foreign country to give copyright protection to works by Canadian authors. There are two large international treaties, the Berne Union and the Universal Copyright Convention (ucc). A total of ninety-seven countries subscribe to one or both. The U.S.S.R. and the Republic of China are members of neither and afford no protection to works first published in Canada.

Canada has been a member of ucc since 1962 and is also a member of the Berne Union at the Rome level of 1928. The Berne Union has been revised twice since that time. The first was at Brussels in 1948. A second revision was initiated at Stockholm in 1967, but it did not come into force because of a generally unacceptable concession to developing countries contained in a protocol included as an integral part of the act. Stockholm was accordingly revised at Paris in 1971 and is now referred to as the Paris Act and the revised provisions of the protocol are now contained in the appendix to that Act.

ucc requires a term of protection of the life of the author plus twenty-five years after his death, but an exception was made in order to permit the United States to join. ucc also provides that the requirement in domestic law of any formalities such as registration and domestic manufacture as a prerequisite to obtaining copyright shall be deemed to be complied with if the ucc copyright notice consisting of "C" in a circle (©), the name of the copyright owner, and the date of first publication are affixed to all copies of the published work.

The U.S. term of protection is twenty-eight years from publication, renewable for a further term of twenty-eight years. To obtain copyright protection a work must be manufactured in the United States. However, since that country joined ucc in 1955, this no longer applies in general to works by foreign authors, nationals of a ucc country, or works first published in a ucc country. It is still applicable, however, to works of U.S. nationals wherever they may reside and to foreigners domiciled in the U.S.

The most important incentive for Canada to become a member of ucc was the fact that Canadian authors publishing in Canada would thereby automatically obtain copyright protection in the United States without being required to have their works manufactured there, provided they had affixed to all published copies the ucc copyright notice. Canadian printers, however, cannot compete for the printing of copyrighted works written by American authors, because the works of American nationals or domiciliaries printed in Canada cannot be imported back into the United States and still claim copyright protection there. On the other hand, American printers can compete for Canadian printing without any corresponding disability. As a result of this lack of parallel copyright protection, many kinds of print-



ing which normally would be made in Canada are produced in the United States, for example, when only a portion of the printing run is destined for American consumption.

International copyright conventions, Berne and UCC, assure authors of a minimum degree of protection for their works abroad and some uniformity in international copyright laws. This is essential for the orderly international marketing of copyrighted material. International copyright provides an incentive for the international dissemination of intellectual works in the same way that national copyright laws do for national dissemination.

The volume of Canadian exports of copyright material, although small, is increasing and its importance is out of proportion to its size. Although a Canadian publisher may have to market Canadian books abroad at prices that do not bear a proportionate share of overhead costs, the sale of such works at any price above reproduction costs, or of licences to reproduce them, can make an important contribution to the return of initial costs.

Canada imports substantially more copyright works than she exports. The question has been asked whether it would not be to Canada's advantage to renounce all international copyright conventions and thus be at liberty to reproduce foreign works free from all copyright restrictions. At first such a proposal may seem inviting. Reproduction by photo-offset would enable a Canadian publisher to reproduce foreign works, often for a fraction of a cent per page, the foreign publisher already having paid for all pre-publication costs. Canadian works would of course lose all protection abroad. But the Canadian publisher's overriding problem is lack of an adequate market base to bring unit costs down to a level that can compete with the run-on costs of imported books. For this reason, his future must lie in export, and he must be under no copyright disability as he seeks to develop his trade abroad.

Such action would, moreover, be a shameful disregard of international morality. Article 27(2) of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights declares that Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary, or artistic production of which he is the author.

It would also be a special form of genocide so far as Canadian authors are concerned. The publication in Canada of works by Canadian authors would have to compete with foreign works reproduced in Canada by photolithography, the latter free of all pre-publication costs and royalties. Many authors would either have to give up writing or leave Canada. Canadian works would, of course, receive no copyright protection abroad. For these reasons, the abolition of copyright protection would either seriously retard the development of a distinctive Canadian identity and national unity or bring about subsidized publishing and government control of what is to be published in Canada by Canadians. Neither of these alternatives is attractive.

It should be noted that there probably exists, in developing countries using the English or French languages, a small but important market for cheap editions of

Canadian works or for the sale of licences for their reproduction rights. Canadian works are much less prone to attempt to proselytize than are works from the United States, and for this reason are often preferred by developing countries. If advantage is to be taken of this market, the Canadian editions would have to bear the bulk of the pre-publication costs of such works. The geographical division of copyright and some provision similar to Section 27 should be maintained to prevent such cheap foreign editions finding their way back into Canada.

#### SOME TRADITIONAL SOLUTIONS

##### *Royalty-collecting Societies*

Copyright in Canada includes the sole right to perform the work or any substantial part thereof in public. This "performing right" applies to dramatic works and dramatic-musical works as well as to musical compositions. (The performing rights in the latter are referred to as petty rights.) The Canadian Performing Right Society was incorporated in Canada shortly after the present act came into force in 1924; in 1945 its name was changed to Composers, Authors and Publishers Association of Canada Limited, usually referred to as CAPAC. The main objects of CAPAC are to acquire and hold performing rights in musical works, to license these rights to Canadian users of music, and to collect licence fees from them. Under the act, the performing right may be assigned separately from the other rights comprising copyright, and CAPAC or other assignees can enforce their rights without joining the author in the action. This is not the case in the United States. Performing Right Society Limited (PRS) is a similar royalty-collecting society in the U.K.; the U.S. counterpart of CAPAC is ASCAP (American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers). There is one other performing rights society in Canada – BMI Canada Limited, referred to as BMI.

CAPAC has in addition to its own Canadian repertoire the full repertoire of ASCAP and an additional part from that of PRS and SACEM, the French performing rights society. Royalties are collected and remitted to these foreign societies, who in turn collect and remit royalties for Canadian works performed abroad. CAPAC's income for 1970 was approximately six million dollars and its expenses amounted to approximately thirteen per cent of this figure. The money is distributed to the author, composer, publisher, and society members on a point system. Member societies in turn distribute the amounts remitted to them to their members. CAPAC has been remarkably successful in collecting small royalty fees from a large number of users all across Canada.

Royalty-collecting societies are not used in Canada to collect royalties for other rights. The establishment of a society to collect such royalties presents a promising answer to many of the copyright problems of the new technology.

### *Compulsory Licences*

Compulsory licences are not new. They are to be found in Sections 7, 13, 14, and 15 of the Canadian Copyright Act, but these have generally not been used. The Universal Copyright Convention contains a provision for a compulsory licence for translation after seven years from publication if a translation has not been published in the language or languages of the contracting state. No one has yet been able to cite a specific instance in which this has been used. It would seem that the incentive provided by copyright to exploit the sale and distribution of a work to the maximum has rendered groundless many of the fears which prompted legislators to exact such legislation. Compulsory licensing legislation should be resorted to only after a very careful study. The compulsory licensing system proposed by the Stockholm Protocol is an example where, upon a more objective examination, it was agreed by all parties that in certain cases the proposed cure was worse than the disease: hence it was amended by the Paris Act in July 1971.

Resort to the use of some compulsory licences is inevitable, however, and in some cases they may provide the only answer. It should, however, be borne in mind that a compulsory licence is a form of governmental interference in the pricing system with all the attendant dangers such interference entails.

It has been proposed by some to be in the public interest that educators should be allowed to reproduce copyright material of all kinds, such as books, pamphlets, film, tape, and so on for classroom use, with no payment to the author or other copyright owner. Authors and publishers point out that this would be tantamount to a compulsory licence which would subsidize education at their expense, and that their own prosperity and well-being should also be matters of public concern.

### *Compulsory Licence for Computer Input*

It has been urged that there should be some form of compulsory licence whereby the permission of the copyright owner to have his work stored in a computer could be dispensed with. Fear is expressed that copyright owners will hold the computer service to ransom by refusing permission to store their works. On the other hand, it is argued that such a fear is similar to that which prompted the passage of Section 14 of the Canadian Act and is probably just as unfounded. A copyright owner is likely to refuse only if the terms offered are not sufficient to compensate for the expected loss of sales. Negotiations for computer use are in principle similar to those that take place between hardback and paperback publishers.

New uses will be discovered for computers which may require new methods of compensation, and an increasing number of works will be created for computer use only. An inflexible method of determining compensation by compulsory licences could act as a deterrent to the creation of new works and of new computer uses. When, for example, the work stored in a computer is a set of tables or mathe-



mathematical formulae, prepared exclusively for computer use, there may be no actual reproduction of the work at all and some form of lump sum payment or leasing arrangement might well be more appropriate than royalty payments. If the copyright owner has the right to control input, as he probably has under the Canadian Copyright Act and as he will have to have under the Paris Act of the Berne Convention, he is free to bargain for a payment for input, or a royalty on use, or a combination of both, depending upon the nature of the work and the use to which it is to be put.

Those who oppose the compulsory use of copyright material say that compulsory licensing should be resorted to, if at all, only in exceptional cases. For example, a non-exclusive compulsory licence might be issued to a computer owner under a court order after he had proved to the court's satisfaction that it was in the public interest and that the copyright owner was unreasonably withholding such a licence. The court would have to have power to fix the terms of compensation to the copyright owner in such situations.

#### LIBRARY USE OF COPYRIGHT MATERIAL

Libraries are among the largest users of copyright material and provide a very substantial market for books and increasingly for other copyright works. The total book stock in public libraries in Ontario in 1960 was 7,438,035 volumes; by 1970 it had increased to 12,495,292 volumes, an expansion of 59.5 per cent. Total book circulation (number of loans) was 30,674,542 in 1960 and 46,824,927 in 1970, an increase of 65.7 per cent. The fact that library loans have increased at a greater rate than total book stock may be attributable to an increase in efficiency in library use and to an improved system of inter-library loans made easier by the creation of more county and regional library systems, etc. Library loans of materials other than books, such as records, tapes, and film, amounted to an additional 3,451,679 loans in 1970, and the use of such material in libraries will increase in the future.

There is legislation in Ontario enabling the establishment of county or regional library boards and some fifteen have already been established. Unlike the legislation consolidating school boards, however, this legislation is permissive at the present time. Library board consolidation will undoubtedly proceed at a faster rate in the future and will make possible the more efficient use of copyright material. Inter-library loans will increase, and there will be an increasing pressure to use long-distance machine copying and computer storage and retrieval of copyright material in central computer banks of large libraries available through a wired network to local branches by viewers and hard-copy printouts. Eventually libraries will be connected by a network extending not only across Canada but to other library systems throughout the world. For certain kinds of works where several copies are now necessary to service the borrowing public, one copy will suffice. This could



mean a loss of royalties to authors and a loss of market to publishers, losses which neither can afford – desirable though such technological developments are from other standpoints.

### *Public Lending Right in Scandinavian Countries*

The Scandinavian countries have adopted a method of compensating native authors (but not publishers) for the loans of their books from libraries. In Sweden, the state undertakes to pay compensation to the Swedish Authors Association as a collecting society, and it in turn distributes part of the money to authors in proportion to the number of their books loaned. The remainder of the money is used for social security payments, scholarships, and awards to Swedish authors. The amount paid is determined by taking a sample representative of the lending practices of all Swedish libraries and is calculated at a rate equivalent to three cents (Canadian) per library loan and twelve cents for each Swedish reference book held in the libraries. The cost of administration, including the cost of sampling, amounts to some four to six per cent of the total fund.

In Denmark the government sets aside a sum of money which is divided among Danish authors in the proportion that the total number of each author's books held in Danish public libraries bears to the total of all Danish authors' books in the libraries.

In these countries this provision to compensate is not part of the copyright law and therefore foreign authors are not entitled to participate under any of the international copyright treaties. The Federal Republic of West Germany, on the other hand, is now considering amendments to its copyright act with a view to paying all authors, foreign as well as native, compensation for books and other copyright material loaned in German public libraries.

### SOME PROPOSALS

Authors and publishers produce works in return for payment for their use, and users want speedy and convenient access. Attempts to define "fair dealing" as a solution to modern "reprography" have not proved successful, if only because they have not been able to cope adequately with the facts of modern reprography and the changing technology of communication.

It has been suggested in this paper that it would be desirable to find solutions which would provide, with a minimum of governmental interference in what is to be published,

1. a source of revenue to authors and publishers for use of their works by modern reprography (such use is increasingly being substituted for the traditional uses for which payment is made);
2. speedy, convenient access in return for payment;
3. reasonable additional revenue for Canadian authors and their publishers for the use of their works.

The situation faced by Canadian publishers and authors particularly of certain kinds of works is not unlike that faced by the music industry at the beginning of the century. CAPAC has been able to deal effectively with the difficulty of collecting royalties from a large number of small users across Canada and with the new technological uses of works by radio and television with a minimum inconvenience to users and creators alike.

### *Formation of a Royalty-collecting Society*

The formation of a clearing house and royalty-collecting society by authors and publishers, similar to CAPAC, to collect royalties for the use of copyright material by modern reprography, has been suggested as the first step to an economic solution. The government should help to finance the setting up of such a clearing house. The clearing house would then obtain the assignment of reprography rights to books, phonograph records, tapes, and other copyright material subject to copying. Such assignment might be voluntary or might be made compulsory by legislation. Voluntary assignment could be encouraged and the position of the user simplified by legislation similar to that in the Federal Republic of Germany, where it is provided that equitable remuneration shall be paid to copyright owners for reprography rights but only to a clearing house which makes the distribution to the authors and publishers concerned. The clearing house would then proceed to deal with large users, such as departments of education, colleges, and research centres of large corporations, for the payment of compensation for the right to reproduce the copyright material. It would not be an insurmountable difficulty to work out methods of calculating the amount and nature of copying and the manner of payment on a basis that would be equitable to all parties concerned. Different procedures might be developed for small users. An individual should be free to copy for his own use but should not be allowed to make copies for others. CAPAC has certainly proved that such an approach is not only possible but practical.

The operation of such a clearing house and the sampling of uses undertaken by it would accumulate information which in turn would enable improved procedures to be developed. There would perhaps have to be a transitional period until experience enabled the clearing house to develop modified techniques.

In this connection it should be noted that publishers in Canada, the U.S., the U.K., France, and certain other countries have in recent years begun to use – on a voluntary basis – an International Standard Book Number (ISBN) system to identify all their publications, including differing editions of the same work. Each book is assigned a ten-digit number which identifies the publisher, the title, and the edition, and contains a check digit which insures against error in manual transcription. The number is computer-compatible and its universal use could greatly facilitate collecting and distributing royalties. The responsibility for administering the ISBN system in Canada could be assigned to the clearing house.

A similar system of numbering is being developed by the International Standards Association for Periodicals. The clearing house could be given responsibility for representing the Canadian Standards Association at meetings considering the development of this new International Standard Periodical Number (ISPN).

Such numbering systems or a modified form of them, if generally adopted, could facilitate the use of a computer by the clearing house for recording and distributing of revenue.

The statutory creation of a reprography right would clarify the users' position as well as simplify collections. Opposition to the creation of such a right has been voiced by some users but it would seem to stem from a misunderstanding. Under such a system, users would receive very much wider rights to use copyright material than they now have under the "fair dealing" doctrine but they would be expected to pay a royalty for such use. Copyright owners on the other hand would have to give up their present rights to prohibit many kinds of copying in return for a royalty. The reprography right might be limited to five or ten years from first publication, the periods during which eighty or ninety per cent respectively of all copying takes place. Thereafter, an exemption for "fair use" might apply and permission would have to be obtained when the use did not fall within that definition. "Fair use" would, of course, have to be carefully defined and might have to be wider than the present "fair dealing" exemption.

It would probably be considered necessary to create a new governmental body with power to review royalty collecting practices and charges. This would not be dissimilar to the present Copyright Appeal Board, but its membership should be more representative of the interests of users and creators.

### *Public Lending Right*

A modified public lending right limited to Canadian works could, if payments were substantial enough, make a most important contribution toward the development of Canadian writing, publishing, and manufacture, with concomitant effects on Canadian identity and unity. Such a right would have the advantage of giving public support to Canadian authors and publishers with a minimum of government interference in the pricing system and in what is to be published. By limiting compensation to loans of Canadian works, support could be given to indigenous writing and publishing according to its degree of public acceptance, without penalizing imported works. Payments might be channelled to copyright owners, including authors, via the royalty-collecting society referred to earlier.

### CONCLUSION

The government of Canada supports the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation by parliamentary grants which in recent years have reached a figure of more than \$160

million annually. This is justified as support of Canadian talent, a Canadian cultural entity, and Canadian unity. By contrast, the support available to Canadian authorship and publishing from other agencies of government seems pitifully small.

Downgrading of copyright protection or legislation which would permit the further erosion of copyright can only weaken the financial position of both Canadian authors and publishers and decrease the incentives for indigenous Canadian creativity. On the other hand it is possible to recommend measures that would stimulate both the publishing industry in Canada and the writing profession which depends upon it at a far lower cost than that of many of the other programs that exist for the purpose of promoting national unity. But time is running out, and measures should be taken before it is too late.

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# *Composers, Authors and Publishers Association of Canada, Limited*

JOHN V. MILLS, Q.C.

The technological changes that have occurred in an overpowering rush during the post-war years have all seemed to reach a stage of refined commercial application at about the same time. Almost simultaneously computer systems in industry have become commonplace; commercial photocopying has developed to the point where the copy is indiscernible from the original and is of lasting quality; television has been universally accepted, and already many maintain that it may be outdated by 1980 by reason of the "wired city" or cablevision concept; satellite reception is a reality; and information retrieval centres have been established to serve specific industries. The industrial development of these systems has been proceeding over several years, but with the commercial success of all of them we have become aware of their sociological effects and a certain element of panic has set in.

The statements of the book publishing industry in Canada illustrate this deep concern as to the effects of technological change. The fears are indeed justified, particularly for Canada with its small potential market for purely Canadian literary works. Technological change has occurred in the past, however, and it may well be that members of the book publishing industry, both writers and publishers, are only now facing the threat that their counterparts in the music industry, composers and lyric writers on the one hand and music publishers on the other, faced in the period following the first world war. For this reason the experience of the music industry may be valuable in assessing steps that may assist the book publishing industry.

In the years following the early 1900s it became evident to the composers of music that their financial returns from the sale of sheet music were dwindling. Obviously this was brought on initially by the new popularity of live performances, not only in concert halls but also in restaurants and other establishments. This was followed by the introduction of the gramophone and the popularity of recorded music, and shortly thereafter by the development of broadcasting and the talking

picture. The thirties saw the innovation of juke boxes, and with the forties appeared background music services and television.

In 1914 in the United States, and in 1915 in Great Britain, composers and publishers came to the realization that they must look to the *performing right* inherent in their copyright for the bulk of future compensation for the use of their music. The American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP) was established in 1914, and the Performing Right Society Limited (PRS) was formed in England in 1915, expressly as member-owned co-operatives for the purpose of administering performing rights. The Composers, Authors and Publishers Association of Canada, Limited (CAPAC), formerly known as the Canadian Performing Right Society Limited (CPRS) was founded in 1925.

These co-operative membership organizations derived from the fact that under the copyright acts of the United States, England, and Canada (and indeed of virtually every country of the world) there secured to the creator of the original musical work, or his assignee, the right to control the public performance of copyright music. But a statement of principle with respect to legal ownership of the performing right was one thing; the practical enforcement of that right throughout the length and breadth of a land such as Canada, with a multitude of premises using music, and subsequently with many radio and television stations and mass volume of usage, was quite another. It became apparent that the right could be effectively enforced only by the establishment of a society such as CAPAC, owned and controlled by the members, who vested in it the legal ownership of their performing rights to administer on their behalf.

CAPAC today is therefore the administrator of the great bulk of the world repertoire of copyright music, in the field of performance only. It is a federally incorporated company; all the shares are held pursuant to a Trust Agreement by the Canada Permanent Trust Company on behalf of the Canadian members of CAPAC, who are composers, lyric writers, and publishers. It operates with a board of sixteen directors, eight of whom are elected by and represent composers and lyric writers, and the remaining eight of whom are publishers representing all publisher members. The directors are elected by the full Canadian membership annually under election procedures supervised by the Canada Permanent Trust Company.

CAPAC in turn has entered into bilateral contracts with performing right societies in virtually all the other countries of the world with the exception of Russia and China, which do not at this stage recognize international copyright protection. The effect of these bilateral contracts is that CAPAC administers the performing rights in the copyright works of members of the societies of other countries in Canada, and the societies of these other countries administer the performing rights of CAPAC members in their own country. Thus if a work created by a Canadian is performed in the United States, England, Belgium, France, Japan, or any of the countries throughout the world with which CAPAC has contracts, the Canadian member will

be compensated for the performance which has occurred in that country. In the same manner, the nationals of those countries will be compensated through CAPAC for performances of their works which occur in Canada.

The first function that CAPAC must fulfil therefore on behalf of its members is the collection of performing right fees for the performance of the musical works assigned to it in Canada. In fulfilling this obligation CAPAC licenses virtually every area of public performance that may occur in Canada, commencing with radio broadcasting and television and proceeding through a multitude of users such as night clubs and cabarets, motion picture theatres, exhibitions and fairs, background music systems, planes, and trains. The fees collected with respect to commercial premises are in the main based on a formula by which CAPAC grants a blanket license to the user on an annual basis. For example, the private commercial AM and FM broadcasters obtain from CAPAC an annual license, allowing them to perform any or all of the musical works within the CAPAC repertoire, and in compensation each station pays a percentage of its total gross revenue throughout the year. In other words, the broadcasters obtain a license allowing them to perform virtually the world repertoire of music as often as they may choose to do so. The same format is followed for other users but is based on a different formula.

The fees that CAPAC may charge in compensation for the use of its repertoire throughout Canada are established by a government tribunal known as the Copyright Appeal Board. This tribunal was established by an amendment to the Copyright Act and came into existence in 1937 in order that there should be some control factor to create a balance between the rights of the copyright owners and the rights of the Canadian users or public. The board sits on an annual basis. CAPAC must file with the board each year a statement of the fees, charges, or royalties it proposes to collect in the many and varied uses throughout Canada of its repertoire; the users of music have an opportunity to file objections and to appear personally before the board. The board, after hearing argument from both sides, establishes a rate which may be collected by the society for the forthcoming year, and this is the rate that the society may lawfully sue for and collect in the event that payment is not voluntarily made pursuant to the approved tariffs. The tariffs themselves are published in a special edition of the *Canada Gazette* in order that all parties concerned may have notice as to the fees.

Even though CAPAC has existed since 1925 it still finds it necessary to institute legal proceedings to enforce its rights with respect to the public performance of music. Across Canada over a hundred legal actions may be taken annually to enforce these rights.

Assuming that CAPAC has effectively collected the performing right fees to which it is legally entitled from all persons who use music in public in Canada, the question then arises, "How are these moneys distributed?" It must first of all be pointed out that the moneys are distributed strictly in accordance with performances that



have been logged by CAPAC during a distribution period. All members whose works are logged share equally, with variation in payment depending on the number of individual performances logged by each musical work. Distribution is subdivided into the following categories: (1) Broadcast, general, and concert hall (made twice a year on a six-month basis); (2) television (made twice a year on a six-month basis); (3) motion pictures (made once a year); (4) foreign (made once a year).

We may follow how the system works by using the broadcast, general, and concert hall distribution as an example. In this pool are the moneys collected from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation with respect to its radio activities, from the private commercial radio industry (both AM and FM), and from concert hall performances throughout Canada, together with the miscellaneous revenue collected from premises such as night clubs, taverns, and skating rinks.

The moneys collected for the period from 1 January in any given year to 30 June form the basis of one six-month distribution pool. They are distributed on the basis of performances, reflected in an analysis of radio station programming plus printed concert hall programming. Throughout the six-month period CAPAC receives a constant flow of programming data from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, both for network programs and local broadcasting. As well, AM and FM private commercial radio stations provide sample programming, so devised that there is a constant flow from representative stations across the country which report all musical works performed by them for a weekly period. In addition, the licensees of concert halls forward copies of their printed programs setting forth the works performed in such halls.

CAPAC receives almost daily distribution information, from the affiliated societies around the world, about foreign musical works, and in addition receives from its Canadian members distribution information about Canadian musical works. A distribution system has been devised making use of Recordak high-speed readers to facilitate the identification of individual song titles; these titles are keypunched into tape, which is in turn read by equipment in the computer centre, which produces performance cards for each work logged. In CAPAC's basic identification department are five young ladies who can identify between four and five thousand individual song titles per day regardless of any selection's country of origin.

The individual selections are recorded, as performed day in and day out for the six-month period, and to each performance is given a point credit which has been devised in the distribution system. At the end of a distribution period, the results are expressed in millions of points. By dividing the total points into the amount of money for distribution, CAPAC obtains a point value which can be fed back into the computer. Finally, printed statements are obtained, not only for the Canadian members but also for the members of all of the foreign societies, setting out the title of each musical work performed and the amount of money earned by that work.

(Similar steps are taken with respect to the television and motion picture film



distributions. The source of material is different and the analysis is somewhat different, but the principles of distribution are the same.)

CAPAC then forwards a copy of the statement to the composer with a cheque covering his participation in the distribution; a similar statement goes to the lyric writer with his cheque; and, finally, a statement goes to the publisher with his cheque. Each of the members who shares in the distribution with respect to a work obtains his compensation separately and independently from the others. The statements with respect to foreign works are sent in bulk to the appropriate foreign society, with one cheque for the total amount earned by the members of that society, and the foreign society then pays its members individually. In the same manner distribution statements are received by CAPAC from countries throughout the world, setting forth Canadian music which was performed in those countries together with a breakdown as to distribution between composer, lyric writer, and publisher. It in turn forwards individual statements to its members together with cheques covering the total amount of money earned by their works through world performances.

It is a basic rule of CAPAC distribution, established by the composers, lyric writers, and publishers, that no publisher may receive more than fifty per cent of the performing right fees earned by a musical work within CAPAC's repertoire, and under no circumstances may the composer or lyric writer together receive less than fifty per cent of the performing right fees earned with respect to any musical work.

The benefits of the collective administration of copyright, as evidenced by the performing right societies, flow to the members of the society on the one hand in creating a just and effective collection and distribution organization, but also flow to the general public on the other in creating a central clearing house in order that the legal use of copyright material may be obtained. Since the Copyright Act of Canada recognizes the ownership in creative material in musical works in the composer and grants the performing right in the same, a multitude of innocent infringers would arise were it not for the effectiveness of a collective approach to administration. It may well be that if performing right societies had not been created by the composers, lyric writers, and publishers of the world, individual governments might have been forced to create some such organizations in order to prevent chaos in the use of copyright music.

It is true that in most of the countries of the world the performing right society is a monopoly, albeit a benevolent monopoly, but most of the countries of the world have accepted such organizations as a necessity. In Canada the best opinion is that the current Combines Act does not apply to intellectual property, but there are some fears that the proposed Competition Act might be broad enough to do so. In my view any fear of monopolistic practices in so far as the operation of CAPAC is concerned are unfounded, in as much as the Copyright Appeal Board controls completely the fee set as compensation for the use of copyright musical works in

public performance. Any other type of co-operative administration of copyright, in any other field, might well expect the Canadian government either to set up a similar tribunal or to widen the existing powers of the Copyright Appeal Board to deal with fee-setting in other such areas.

Those who are interested in the administration of copyright in another field, must, I suggest, take cognizance of the existence of performing right societies in the musical field, and attempt to adapt to their own needs the success of musical copyright administration through such organizations.

We must realize that very little purpose is served in setting up copyright protection under an act if such protection does not benefit the creator and or his publisher on the one hand or merely presents a roadblock to the user on the other. A system must be found by which the user who wishes to respect the rights of the copyright owner may easily and quickly clear the rights to the works he needs; the copyright owners on the other hand must be prepared to facilitate the users by establishing a central clearing bureau.

A necessary requisite for an effective central clearing organization is the broadest repertoire possible, both on a national and international basis. It does little good for a user of copyright to be able to clear a small number of titles through a central organization if he still must pursue a large number of copyright owners individually. The strength of the musical performing right societies is that in most countries of the world one central source is able to clear the world repertoire of music, pursuant to the licenses that it grants to the users.

In this respect it should be pointed out, however, that in Canada there are two licensing bodies, the Composers, Authors and Publishers Association of Canada, Limited (CAPAC), and BMI (Canada) Limited, a wholly owned subsidiary of Broadcast Music Inc. of the United States. In the United States, of course, there are the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP), Broadcast Music Inc., and a third, smaller, society known as SESAC Inc.

The existence of two societies in Canada, each with a separate repertoire, creates problems that do not exist in other countries such as England, France, or Italy. CAPAC has unquestionably the larger repertoire of the two, but BMI (Canada) Ltd. controls a substantial number of copyrights which are in demand for public performance. Therefore, it becomes necessary for Canadian users to obtain licenses from both CAPAC and BMI. This of course raises the whole question of identification of musical works; it upsets the user who requires two licenses; and it raises the very real problem as to the ratio of payments between CAPAC and BMI. There is of course no basic hardship created for the user, because the two license fees he pays would undoubtedly correspond to the one total fee that would exist if there were only one society functioning within the country. But the existence of two societies does create a double overhead situation; it also divides the Canadian membership into two groups and to a certain extent weakens the composer's public voice.

It is important to note that the performing right society, while primarily concerned with the collection and distribution of performing right fees, serves an equally important function on behalf of Canadian creative people in being their voice before government bodies. This role it performs by filing briefs or other representations with respect to strong copyright legislation – not only domestically, but with respect to any contemplated changes on the international scene. CAPAC has, therefore, throughout the years, in the interests of its members, participated actively in discussion of changes in Canadian copyright law, and also has been active in the international field with regard to proposed amendments or changes to either the Berne Convention or the Universal Copyright Convention.

In the year ending 31 December 1971, the total revenue of CAPAC was approximately \$6,800,000, and it operated at an overhead factor of 12.8 per cent. The total income received through the administration of the rights assigned to it, after deduction of the actual cost of operation, is distributed to the composers, lyric writers, and publishers whose works were performed in Canada. There is no profit aspect to the operation and therefore there are no dividends, and no individual persons have any interest whatsoever in the collection and distribution of royalties other than those creative persons and their publishers whose works have been performed in Canada during the period of licensing.

CAPAC charges no membership fees. The membership requirements are limited to some evidence that the person applying, if he is a composer or lyric writer, is in fact a professional composer or lyric writer, or, if he is a publisher, that he is in fact publishing Canadian music. The qualifications for a prospective member who is a composer or lyric writer are merely that his work must have been (a) published by a recognized music publisher, or (b) recorded by a recognized recording company, or (c) performed in some area of public performance which CAPAC licenses.

There is no requirement that any composer and/or lyric writer must assign his musical compositions to a publisher. If the work has not been assigned to a publisher and is performed, then the composer and/or lyric writer obtains the full payment with respect to that performance. The distribution procedures followed with respect to moneys earned through the performance of an individual musical work are as follows:

1. If the musical work has been created by the same person, i.e., music and lyrics, and the work has not been published, then the composer will receive 100 per cent with reference to the moneys credited to that performance.
2. If the music has been written by one person and the lyrics by another and the work has not been published, then 50 per cent of the moneys earned will be paid to the composer and 50 per cent to the lyric writer.
3. If the musical composition described in the previous paragraph has been published, then the distribution will be 25 per cent to the composer, 25 per cent to the lyric writer, and 50 per cent to the publisher.
4. If the musical composition has been in turn sub-published by a publisher outside Canada, then



normal distribution will be 25 per cent to the composer, 25 per cent to the lyric writer, 25 per cent to the original publisher, and 25 per cent to the foreign publisher.

The foregoing rules of distribution are internationally accepted. The same distribution would be applicable to performances of the work in any of the thirty-three countries of the world in which CAPAC has reciprocal contractual relationships for the administration of Canadian members' works.

The collective administration of copyright in the field of book publishing would appear to me to be inevitable. The widespread and ever-increasing use of the photocopier throughout the business world and our educational institutions must be brought under some orderly form of administration, or straight economics dictates that Canadian publishing will die, particularly in the educational field.

In my view the educational user of copyrighted material must surely recognize this. If he is provided with an effective and wide-reaching collective to administer the copyright in literary works, there will be no objection to the payment of a reasonable fee in compensation for the photocopying of material and the resultant loss of sale of the book.

It is the writers and publishers of the books who must, however, take the lead in formulating the vehicle to administer their rights. Just as the composers, lyric writers, and publishers attacked the threat to the financial return from the use of their property some sixty years ago through the formation of performing right societies, those interested in the literary field must, in my view, deal with the problem in their own industry today. They must be prepared to accept some form of government control over the fee structure that they devise as compensation for use of their works. But the wise and effective use of a collective system of administration coupled with a reasonable approach to governmental control will bring order, to the field of photocopying in particular, where chaos now exists.

The same principles will be required to deal with information retrieval centres and virtually all the problems that will arise in future. Technological advances may be harnessed to the advantage of the creative person if we have in the first instance a strong copyright act giving strong protection to our creative people. The members of any particular industry must, however, establish the necessary machinery to enforce their rights. In that enforcement they must assist the user rather than impede him, by creating a system that will make it possible for the user to pay the necessary fees in compensation to the copyright owner in the simplest manner possible.

JOHN V. MILLS, Q.C., joined CAPAC in 1957 as assistant general manager and general counsel, and in 1968 was appointed general manager and general counsel. He is a member of the executive bureau of the International Confederation of Societies of Composers and Authors, which represents copyright on the international level for some fifty countries.



# *The Impact of the U.S. Manufacturing Provisions*

W. E. CURRY

The manufacturing provisions in the United States Copyright Law (frequently referred to as “the manufacturing clause”), stated in their simplest form, create a non-tariff barrier to the import of certain books and magazines by withholding copyright protection in the United States unless the books and magazines in question are manufactured domestically.

What follows will deal with the history of the manufacturing provisions, their impact on Canadian printing and publishing, the efforts to secure exemption for Canada, and, finally, the situation at the time this was written. The significance of this matter for Canadian book publishing will become more apparent as the story unfolds. However, one might say in summary that Canadian book publishing is engaged in a fight for survival against great odds, and that the manufacturing provisions lengthen those odds considerably:

1. Canadian publishing's main competition comes from the world's largest and most sophisticated graphic arts industry, located next door in the United States.
2. The U.S. industry has inherent advantages in size of runs, access to greater variety of papers and bindings, and availability of a variety of manufacturing facilities.
3. The same unions and wage scales apply on both sides of the border, giving an automatic cost advantage on plate and set-up costs to the United States.
4. Books and printing of all kinds enter Canada relatively freely from the United States. This is somewhat of a one-way street, because the manufacturing provisions prevent Canadians from competing for the requirements of U.S. publishers.
5. As a result Canadian publishers, to stay competitive, must consider manufacturing in Europe, Asia, or the United States, while their domestic printing sources are effectively prevented from expanding to a more economical scale of operation.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Recognition of international copyright dates back to the early nineteenth century in Europe. The movement culminated in the Berne Convention of 1887, which provided for reciprocal recognition of copyrights among the signatory countries. The United States was relatively late in granting copyright protection to foreign countries and when it did so, manufacturing provisions were included to protect domestic manufacturers. Some excerpts from testimony on copyright given by Robert W. Frase before the Judiciary Subcommittee of the United States House of Representatives in 1965 provide the historical background. (Mr. Frase was then director of the Joint Washington office of the American Book Publishers' Council and American Educational Publishers' Institute. He now is vice-president of the Association of American Publishers.)

The United States did not join the Berne Convention. Nor did we grant foreign authors any copyright protection until 1891, and then only if their books (and photographs, lithographs, and chromos) were *remanufactured* in the United States – the so-called manufacturing requirement or manufacturing clause. Why did this happen only in the United States? The reasons are to be found in two special circumstances. First, there was our tradition of not granting property rights to foreigners – in many States only American citizens could own real property. Second, and more important, the American book publishing industry was developed in its formative years on the basis of piracy of British works.

The Simmonds bill was finally passed, first by the House and then by the Senate in the last minutes of the 51st Congress on March 4, 1891. It should be noted that this bill was in the end supported by almost all groups directly concerned: the authors, the publishers, the book manufacturers, the printing trades unions, and representatives of book users such as the National Education Association and the American Library Association. The support of the printing trades unions was not without its price. The manufacturing clause enacted in 1891 was not of the limited type that the Harpers had advocated, requiring only printing in this country from imported plates, but the resetting of the type in the United States as well. The law also contained a provision prohibiting the importation of foreign editions of works copyrighted in the United States, so that the original foreign editions would not come into the country over the then-existing 25 per cent *ad valorem* tariff on books.

As originally enacted in the 1891 statute, the requirements of the manufacturing clause were so rigid that they did not provide much benefit to foreign authors, except for the best-known British writers. In order to secure U.S. copyright, the work was required to be printed and published in the United States *not later* than the date of publication in any other country. It was possible for publishers of well-known British writers with an assured sale in the United States to make advance arrangements with U.S. publishers to meet these requirements and have the United States and British editions come out simultaneously. Such arrangements were not practical for the works of continental European writers, which required considerable time for translation into English, or for lesser-known British authors whose works could not attract an American publisher prior to the testing of public reaction to the British edition. Thus the vast bulk of foreign literary works undoubtedly continued to fall into the public domain in the United States following the passage of the 1891 law.

From an all-embracing manufacturing requirement at the time of passage of the Simmonds Bill in 1891, the provisions were relaxed to some extent from time to time through amendments to the Copyright Law. The principal changes were as follows, again quoting from Mr. Frase's testimony:

1909: Elimination of the manufacturing requirement for books in languages other than English.

1919: Granting of sixty days after publication for copyright registration of books not first manufactured in the United States, and four months' temporary or *ad interim* copyright, in which manufacture in the United States could be completed.

1949: Granting of six months after publication for copyright registration of books not first manufactured in the United States and a five-year *ad interim* copyright to permit remanufacture in the United States. In addition, 1,500 copies of the foreign edition could be imported during the five-year *ad interim* period.

1954: Elimination of the manufacturing requirement and import restrictions for books first published in a country adhering to the Universal Copyright Convention or for books written by a national of a country adhering to the UCC. However, because the elimination of the manufacturing requirement did not apply to U.S. citizens or domiciliaries, permission was granted to American authors to take out the five-year *ad interim* copyright on their works first published abroad and to import up to 1,500 copies of those books.

The elimination of the manufacturing clause for nationals of countries adhering to the UCC was a requirement for the acceptance of the United States into that multilateral convention. We had by then become the world's leading producer of all types of creative work – literature, plays and music – with exports far exceeding our imports. It was obviously in our interest to protect our copyrights abroad; and Congress was convinced that the concession on the manufacturing clause would not be harmful to any American interest.

While these changes in the manufacturing provisions provided considerable relief to exporters of published works to the United States, the essential effect of the law as a non-tariff trade barrier, particularly as far as Canada is concerned, remained unchanged.

The United States has not been able to subscribe to the Berne Convention on international copyright because of the manufacturing provisions. However, it did adhere to the United Nations-sponsored Florence Agreement of 1952 which was designed to promote the free flow of ideas by eliminating barriers to the importation of educational, scientific, and cultural materials. The manufacturing provisions, being a non-tariff barrier, nevertheless continued in effect.

Canada did not subscribe to the Florence Agreement originally and still has not done so. Nor is favourable consideration likely until a more equitable relationship can be established between Canada and the United States in the matter of trade in printing and book manufacture. One thinks particularly in this connection of the manufacturing provisions.

#### CURRENT STATUS OF THE MANUFACTURING PROVISIONS

The existing U.S. Copyright Law requires that books or periodicals in the English language, if the author is a U.S. citizen or is domiciled in the United States at the time of first publication, and all books first published in the United States, must be manufactured in the United States in order to receive full-term copyright protection. Basically, section 16 of the Copyright Law requires the following mechanical

work to be done in the United States: typesetting; plate-making from type set in that country; lithographic or photoengraving processes, whether of text or illustration; and the printing of text and binding. These requirements do not apply to works in raised characters for the use of the blind, books or periodicals of foreign origin in a language or languages other than English, works printed or produced in the United States by any process other than those specified in section 16, books first printed abroad and subject to *ad interim* treatment, or illustrations of scientific works or works of art located in a foreign country.

Section 22 of the Copyright Law provides for an *ad interim* copyright registration for foreign-manufactured books or periodicals which are, first, in the English language and, second, first published abroad. This registration is available only when both conditions are met and must be made in the United States Copyright Office within six months of first publication. It may be extended to full term by publishing an American-manufactured edition in the United States within five years after first publication abroad. During the existence of *ad interim* copyright, 1,500 copies of the work may be imported.

The two preceding paragraphs are taken (with minor changes) from the *Bulletin of the Copyright Society of the U.S.A.*, October 1970. There are a number of other exceptions and modifications to the general conditions but they are not basic to the purpose of this paper.

In addition to the actual law, the regulations under it and their administration at various ports of entry into the United States magnify the significance of the manufacturing provisions as a non-tariff trade barrier. These regulations, of necessity, are complex. In doubtful situations, books and magazines may be delayed at the border while customs rulings are sought. Moreover, uncertainty as to how the law will be administered in any given situation discourages risk-taking by potential importers.

The present United States Copyright Law has been under revision in Congress for some years. Early in 1967, the Subcommittee on Patents, Trademarks and Copyrights of the Senate Judiciary Committee announced hearings on a revised bill as passed the year before by the House of Representatives. Expectations (not realized) were that changes would be minimal and that prompt passage of the revised bill could be expected.

At that time, representations were made by the State Department and others for elimination of the manufacturing provisions from the new bill. These were rejected in the House version, although some further ameliorations in the application and extent of the provisions were incorporated in the version sent to the Senate.

Under the proposed new bill, the manufacturing provisions will apply only to a work consisting preponderantly of non-dramatic literary material that is in the English language; the number of copies of a covered work which may be imported will be increased from 1,500 to 2,000 copies and the *ad interim* five-year copyright



limit will be dropped; and the works of American nationals who have been expatriates for a year or more will no longer be affected.

#### IMPACT ON CANADA OF THE MANUFACTURING PROVISIONS

Canada finds itself in a special situation with regard to the manufacturing provisions. Geography, combined with a common language and a similar cultural heritage, have brought this country and the United States into a close economic and trade relationship. This is particularly evident in the flow across the border of printing and publishing, but the advantage is heavily in favour of the larger partner. Canadian imports of print from the United States run in excess of \$400,000,000 per year. This figure includes statistically measurable imports through customs clearances, plus the vast amount of unrecorded or hidden printing and publishing imports which enter Canada from the United States through the mails and in conjunction with imported articles of all kinds (such as manuals of instruction).

In 1970, statistically recorded imports of printed matter into Canada amounted to \$245,000,000, of which \$203,000,000 came from the United States. Total U.S. exports of printed matter in 1970 (statistically recorded) amounted to \$334,000,000. From these figures it can be seen that Canada buys more books and printing from the United States than do all other countries in the world combined. Our exports to the United States of these same products are small by comparison – about \$25,000,000. The sheer size of the trade imbalance means that anything tending to impede the export of books, magazines, and printing from Canada to the United States must be of the utmost concern. It is for this reason that the manufacturing provisions are regarded in Canada as especially onerous.

The existence of the Royal Commission on Book Publishing is due to the troubled condition of that industry. Our printing and book manufacturing industries have experienced slow growth all through the expansionary period of the sixties, while these same industries in the United States have enjoyed a decade of vigorous growth. A healthy Canadian publishing industry requires access to an efficient and competitive graphic arts industry, and this is in jeopardy. The Canadian market is wide open to virtually unrestricted imports from the United States, but our graphic arts industries are prevented by the manufacturing provisions from competing in that market. Publishers are even inhibited from having some works, aimed primarily at the Canadian market, manufactured in Canada. The following examples, prepared for an earlier presentation on this subject, illustrate the effect on Canadian printing and publishing.

Longmans Canada Ltd. published a book, *How to Play Hockey*, by Bobby Hull, the Canadian star of the Chicago Black Hawks. Technically, the manufacturing provisions should not have applied to the author because he is permanently domiciled in Canada. However, since he is resident in the United States for more months in the year than at his permanent home in Canada, doubt and uncertainty beset his Canadian publisher.

For economic reasons, the number of copies required for the Canadian market had to be included in the American printing. The cost of two printings for the same first edition would have been prohibitive.

To avoid any possible entanglement with the manufacturing clause, the Canadian publisher felt it necessary to print in the United States rather than in Canada. The initial run called for 40,000, a sizable order for any printer. Thus, the threat of the manufacturing clause had the effect of depriving the Canadian industry of the entire manufacturing operation.

Longmans Canada Ltd., in 1965, published a book by another Canadian, Professor Peter Regenstreif, who was on the staff of the University of Rochester. Entitled *The Diefenbaker Interlude*, the book analysed the motivation behind the voting in Canada in a series of critical elections. It might be described as a scholarly trade book, with application to political science courses in Canada and in some American universities. The American market in this case was small, and did not justify an American edition, but the Canadian publisher was advised not to print copies in Canada for export to the United States because the author, under all the circumstances, might be found by a court of law to be a U.S. domiciliary.

Universal Printers Ltd., of Winnipeg, was printing paperback books prior to 1964 for several American publishers. Their business amounted to some six titles per month, with runs varying from 10,000 to 20,000 copies, and was worth about \$150,000 per year at 1967 prices. This natural commercial relationship between the two countries was frustrated when the U.S. Customs invoked the manufacturing provisions. The nationality of some of the authors was found to be American, and entry of their works was refused. The result has been that the American publishers have withdrawn their business.

An American customer engaged a Canadian printer to produce a book at a price of \$10,000, and was considering the use of the same printer to produce a monthly magazine worth about \$100,000 a year in printing production. The customer was advised that he had lost his copyright in the book by reason of the manufacturing provisions. Accordingly, he was not prepared to enter into any contract with a Canadian printer for the production of his magazine for fear of further violating the Copyright Law.

A Canadian printing firm was working on a project whereby certain customers on both sides of the border would achieve substantial savings on the same class of printed material by sharing certain expensive presses which the Canadian was prepared to install. The American customers indicated that they could not go through with this arrangement because of the manufacturing provisions. As a result, the Canadian printer abandoned a plan to buy the specialized American-made presses at a cost in excess of \$1,000,000.

A Canadian printer is manufacturing copies of American textbooks for Canadian use. His prices are competitive with those of American printers, and the American publisher would like him to print copies for the U.S. market and for export. But the manufacturing provisions stand in the way.

A Canadian firm was successfully soliciting typesetting contracts from some American book manufacturers, and was supplying reproduction proofs. In one case, before the book went to press, the United States publisher decided to print by letterpress rather than offset, and insisted upon provision of typesetting in the form of plastic plates instead of reproduction proofs. But while the U.S. Copyright Law has tolerated reproduction proofs in practice, it forbids importation of printing plates.

The customer instructed the printer to kill the type, and, as the latter stated, "It is doubtful that this manufacturer will give us the opportunity of setting type on future jobs where the ultimate method of printing is not firmly established."

Another printer adds, "There are many more instances which I could relate. The unfortunate part is that each incident automatically closes the door to further opportunity for doing this type of work. In other words, once the American customer has been hurt, he is not likely to return for further damage." It should also be observed that bad news travels fast. Book manufacturers, like other printers, frequently meet to exchange ideas, problems and experiences, and thus Americans who have never even tried Canadian printers are induced to concentrate their buying at home.

Clearly, the manufacturing provisions create an effective barrier to Canadian printing and production for the United States market, and even prevent manufacture in Canada for the Canadian market under certain circumstances. To summarize:

1. Without jeopardizing copyright protection, no work in English written by a U.S. citizen or by a Canadian domiciled in the United States can be printed in Canada if it is likely to have more than a very limited sale in the United States.
2. Where uncertainty exists as to whether the provisions apply, the result is often the same as if they did, because the publisher cannot afford to take the risk.
3. Even where the provisions do not apply, administrative procedures at the border can hold up shipments while the status of the goods is being checked out. The danger of this happening discourages publishers who might otherwise consider Canadian manufacture.
4. A work covered by the manufacturing provisions which may be *primarily* aimed at the Canadian market, but which might have a sale in the United States beyond 1,500 copies (possibly 2,000 copies in the future), must be manufactured entirely in the United States because it would be uneconomic to produce it in a separate run in each country.

The effect of the manufacturing provisions on our publishing and graphic arts industries in the future could be even more serious. The Canadian book publishing industry requires economical manufacturing and freely available high-quality printing and binding if it is to compete at home with imports and in world markets. The Canadian graphic arts industry historically has been quick to adapt to new methods, so that its efficiency has been high in spite of small runs and wage levels comparable to those paid in the United States. Now technological change is accelerating and the capital cost of automated modern equipment is rising rapidly. A single printing press capable of high-speed production can entail an investment of over one million dollars. Sophisticated bookbinding equipment is correspondingly expensive. Situated next door to the largest and best equipped graphic arts industry in the world, the Canadian industry must maintain a competitive capability if it is to survive. It can afford to update technology and equipment only if assured a volume of business that can justify the high investment required. For this reason, access to large production runs is essential to the maintenance of a highly efficient



Canadian printing and book manufacturing industry – which will assist, in turn, in the development of a stronger book publishing industry. An unhappy alternative would be for Canadian publishers to buy large proportions of their manufacturing requirements in Europe or Asia in order to be competitive.

Perhaps as a side issue, mention should be made of the problem of “dumping” from the United States into Canada. Overruns from the United States market can come into Canada at very low prices since editorial cost, artwork, composition, plate-making, and set-up costs are amortized over volumes much larger than the Canadian market can support. If all set-up costs have been fully amortized over the original run, overflow can be shipped into Canada at very low costs. Even if preparatory and set-up costs are fully charged on the imports, they become nominal if spread over the very large run made possible by the United States demand. Here again, the manufacturing provisions stand in the way of Canadian industry operating similarly in the U.S. market. Service and instruction manuals and advertising materials, as well as books, are involved to the extent of many millions of dollars in this sort of unfair competition.

#### CANADA SEEKS RELIEF FROM THE PROVISIONS

When it became apparent that the current revision of the U.S. Copyright Law would not eliminate the manufacturing provisions but merely modify them, an *ad hoc* group representing most segments of the Canadian graphic arts and publishing industries met in October 1966 to see what might be done. Eventually a brief was prepared for presentation at the U.S. Senate subcommittee hearings. At the same time, a meeting was arranged at Monterey, California, in November 1966, between a Canadian delegation (made up of a major Canadian printer, a lawyer familiar with copyright matters, and several Canadian union executives) and the Board of Governors of the International Allied Printing Trade Association. This meeting was successful. It achieved recognition that as far as the major international printing trade unions were concerned, the manufacturing provisions should not apply to Canada because wage levels and other conditions of work were comparable to those in the United States. It was clear, however, that the unions were strongly against elimination of the manufacturing provisions for other countries.

In December 1966, a more formal body to battle the manufacturing provisions was formed under the title of the Joint Committee of the Printing and Publishing Industries of Canada. Membership covered the spectrum of printing and publishing in Canada, with representatives from major companies and most industry associations. Directly or indirectly, members represented the Graphic Arts Industries Association, the Canadian Copyright Institute, the Canadian Book Manufacturers' Institute, the Council of Printing Industries, and the Canadian Book Publishers' Council. The Canadian graphic arts unions were kept advised of what the Joint



Committee was doing, and their support was also sought. Meetings in Ottawa with senior government officials brought further encouragement and assurances of strong support through appropriate intergovernmental channels.

In view of the complexities of dealing with the u.s. government, the Joint Committee decided to employ Herbert Fierst, a Washington lawyer and licensed lobbyist, well known in Washington, who knew Canadian conditions from prior work on behalf of Western Canada lumber interests. With his help, the goal of the committee was changed so as to seek exemption for Canada from the manufacturing provisions rather than their complete elimination. While GATT considerations and general objections in principle to the manufacturing provisions as a non-tariff barrier called for total elimination, it was clear that the support of u.s. unions and others would be lost if this course were urged. On the other hand, Mr. Fierst determined that each of the important United States trade groups concerned with printing and publishing would not only accept exemption for Canada, but would testify in the Senate subcommittee hearings on behalf of exemption for Canada. As a result, the brief submitted by the Canadian Joint Committee was confined to a statement of facts concerning the imbalance in trade in printing and publishing between Canada and the United States.

The hearings took place in April 1967, and Canadian exemption was supported by the Allied Printing Trades Association (representing five graphic arts unions), the Printing Industries of America, and the Book Manufacturers' Institute. Unfortunately, there was one dissenting voice. The u.s. State Department was most concerned about possible GATT repercussions and about the reactions of other major u.s. trading partners to any special treatment for Canada. Mr. Fierst had anticipated this development and both informally and directly had challenged the validity of the State Department's position. In addition, opinions were sought from the heads of key industry associations in Britain and Holland – the two countries outside North America most likely to be affected – to determine their reaction to special exemption for Canada from the manufacturing provisions. Their response was favourable.

#### THE AGREEMENT OF TORONTO

A new element was introduced in January 1968. United States publishers and others affected by the application of international copyright had become alarmed by the Stockholm Protocol to the Berne Convention, which proposed the granting of special privileges for the developing countries through the relaxation of copyright protection. Representatives of American industry and labour requested a meeting with their Canadian counterparts. A day-long discussion resulted in the achievement of a common position entitled the Agreement of Toronto. As signed by the

seventeen participants (and subsequently ratified by their associations) this agreement read:

Representatives of the U.S. and Canadian business and labour organizations concerned with printing and publishing met in Toronto on February 16, 1968, to discuss three interrelated issues of mutual interest, namely, an exemption for Canada from the U.S. manufacturing clause, Canadian acceptance of the Florence Agreement, and effective resistance to weakening of international copyright protection.

After a thorough discussion of all aspects of these interrelated issues, the following courses of action were unanimously agreed upon:

1. The Canadian group will promptly inform the Canadian Government of the Toronto meeting and of the agreement to take parallel action on both sides of the border to bring about exemption for Canada from the U.S. manufacturing clause and the acceptance by Canada of the Florence Agreement. The Canadian group will urge the Canadian Government to accept the Florence Agreement as soon as exemption for Canada has been adopted by the U.S. Congress. It is noted that the acceptance of the Florence Agreement can be accomplished in Canada without the necessity of an Act of Parliament.
2. The U.S. and the Canadian groups will co-operate closely in urging their respective governments to consult and work together to oppose the Stockholm Protocol or similar actions weakening international copyright protection which may be proposed under the Universal Copyright Convention.
3. The U.S. group will do its utmost to obtain incorporation of an exemption for Canada in the manufacturing section of the bill to revise the U.S. copyright law (s. 597) now being considered by a U.S. Senate Subcommittee. Specifically, the U.S. group will inform the Department of State of the Toronto meeting and will urge the Department (a) not to oppose an exemption for Canada from the U.S. manufacturing clause, and (b) to work closely with the Government of Canada in opposing weakening of international copyright protection under the Berne Convention or the Universal Copyright Convention. The U.S. group will also bring to the attention of the appropriate subcommittee of the Senate and House Judiciary Committees the recommendations of the Toronto meeting with respect to the manufacturing clause amendment.
4. It is anticipated that co-operative efforts on, and resolution of, the foregoing issues in a mutually satisfactory manner will lead promptly to definite future co-operation between the United States and Canadian groups on the removal of any remaining barriers to trade between the two countries affecting the printing and publishing industries.

While the Agreement of Toronto was merely a statement of intention, it was highly unusual in terms of U.S.-Canadian relations in that it marshalled parallel groups on both sides of the border in working toward a common objective. The document appeared to carry considerable weight with both governments, and in the following months the atmosphere in Washington became more favourable. The Canadians, for their part, through the Joint Committee received assurances from Ottawa that no action would be taken on the Stockholm Protocol or the Florence Agreement without consultation with Canadian industry.

The period since then has been a frustrating one. An important forward step was taken when the U.S. Senate Copyright Subcommittee reported the new Copyright Bill to the full Judiciary Committee in December 1969, and included in it full exemption for Canada from the manufacturing provisions. But this apparent vic-

tory is only a small part of a very complex piece of legislation. The Copyright Bill has yet to be acted on by the United States Senate, largely for reasons related to controversy between the cable tv operators, the motion picture industry, and the recording industry as to copyright protection. For the meantime, the Joint Committee is concerned that *either* the exemption of Canada from the manufacturing provisions should be part of any package deal worked out with the United States in any re-alignment of Canadian-U.S. trade relations, *or*, if it appears that for some reason the new Copyright Bill might be passed by the United States Congress without exemption for Canada, that the Government of Canada will be prepared to move in the strongest possible way to ensure that Canadian exemption is retained.

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# *International Publishing*

HILARY S. MARSHALL and IAN MONTAGNES

The current concern over the incursions of foreign-owned publishers into Canada has overshadowed the extent to which Canadian publishers themselves engage in enterprises across national borders – and the extent to which this may provide them with further financial strength. What follows deals primarily with the publishing houses of Ontario, but it is applicable to English-language houses in other provinces and in great measure to Canadian publishing in French; thus references are to “Canadian” publishing throughout. Its primary concern is the marketing by Canadian firms of editorial projects abroad, whether under their own Canadian imprints, or by the sale of rights to another publisher in English, or by licensed translation, or through sale of subsidiary rights for use in other media such as film. It follows that it is also concerned with seeking wider audiences for Canadian authors, poets, and playwrights. But trade must be a two-way street, and if Canadian publishers are to sell abroad, they must consider buying abroad as well. Thus this paper will also consider the purchase by Canadian publishers of Canadian rights (or, when possible, rights for all North America) to publish under their own Canadian imprints books originated by publishers in other countries. Such a purchase of rights involves editorial and publishing decisions that do not obtain in a contractual agreement to act as agent for another house’s entire list. It does, however, like an agency business, extend the Canadian firm’s list at minimal cost in editorial and “plant” costs.

International publishing in short tends to extend the publisher’s base of operations – by broadening either his market or his list – and thus contributes to recovery of the overhead costs which are basic to much of the industry’s economic difficulties. Yet the advantages are not purely economic.

One of Britain’s most successful publishers, Sir Stanley Unwin, said many years ago that “trade follows the book.” By this he meant that British textbooks in, say, engineering, purchased in Europe or southern Asia, would lead to sales of British



engineering products. It is hardly likely that the sale of, to cite some possible examples, a book by a Canadian nuclear engineer would lead to more purchases abroad of the CANDU reactor, although a catalogue of Eskimo prints and sculpture might well increase the demand abroad for these *objets d'art*. More is involved, however, than material sales. Sir Stanley went on to remark, "Books move the hearts and minds of people in their own homes by their own firesides, and often at their most quiet and most receptive moments." It is not beyond reason to suggest that one of the roles of Canadian publishers is to present the best of their countrymen's writing and ideas at the firesides of the world. Too much can be – indeed has been – said about a Canadian identity, the search therefor and the lack thereof. But if Canadians do have something of their own to say, then it can be presented in books as well as other media. Jonathan Miller has suggested, in a study of Marshall McLuhan, that Canadians as a whole are particularly capable of "multiple viewpoints" – of seeing the world in a multifaceted way because of the complex ethnic, social, cultural, and geographical mosaic in which they live. In a world that is dangerously polarized and open to nuclear catastrophe, a multiplicity of viewpoints is no small asset. Canadian writers also can present to other peoples an understanding of their own country that can come in no other way, whether it is through the careful study of a social scientist like John Porter, the colourful popular history of a Pierre Berton, the realistic fiction of Margaret Laurence, or the Rabelaisian black comedy of Roch Carrier.

Years ago, Morley Callaghan complained about the difficulty Canadian writers of fiction faced in finding Canadian publishers.

Of course, fiction by Canadians has been published in this country, but the chances are that it was published in some other country first. And saying this should not be construed as an attack on Canadian publishers . . .

And in their further defence it must be stated that it is practically impossible for them to sell a thousand copies of a novel by a Canadian in Canada even if they gamble and buy that many copies, so it is not even to be asked why they don't at least publish the thousand copies in this country. They can't do it without losing money. ("The Plight of Canadian Fiction", *University of Toronto Quarterly*, vol. 7, January 1938, pp 158-9)

The situation has improved since then, thanks in large measure to the granting policies of the Canada Council, and by the development thus encouraged of established Canadian publishing houses and of a new generation of younger presses. But the number of copies that must be sold to break even has risen two to three times, and it is still difficult for Canadian writers to reach a sufficiently wide market base. Briefs submitted to this Commission testify to that.

It is perhaps simply a fact of life that Canadian authors who have significant sales potential abroad will make their own arrangements, often through literary agents, with publishers in the United States and the United Kingdom, who can reach these much larger markets directly and, even more important, who can reach the lucra-

tive subsidiary markets there for film, television, and serial rights. One can not easily fault a Mordecai Richler or Marshall McLuhan for turning where the action is. They do so, however, and this too must be recognized, at the expense of their Canadian publisher. He is left with a much smaller market, although he may have taken the original gamble and made the original editorial investment, and he may be able to look for no more returns from outside this country than the economy of longer printing runs (if he shares manufacturing costs with the foreign publisher) or (if this is lacking) the benefits of publicity attendant upon the u.s. publication.

The reverse of this coin needs less elaboration. There is little need, assuredly, for Canadian-based publishers to seek to bring into this country a more powerful image of the English-speaking world outside – particularly of that part residing in the United States and United Kingdom. There may be advantages, however, were Canadian publishers to enter this stream more often as full partners rather than as agents; this will be discussed later. Moreover, only parochialism could deny that English-speaking Canadians would not benefit from a greater infusion of works published first in other languages – Japanese, Russian, German, French, Italian, Portuguese, Hebrew, Arabic, Sanskrit, or Chinese, to name but a few – in the original or in translation. Here too, so long as sufficient demand could be found within Canada or within the whole of North America, Canadian publishers might be full partners in the purchase of editions or of translation rights.

The importance of the free international flow of information, and the primacy in this process of the printed book, is recognized in the Agreement on the Importation of Educational, Scientific and Cultural Materials (the Florence Agreement) adopted under Unesco in 1950. The preamble outlines the broadest of reasons for international publishing:

The free exchange of ideas and knowledge and, in general, the widest possible dissemination of the diverse forms of self-expression used by civilizations are vitally important both for intellectual progress and international understanding, and consequently for the maintenance of world peace; . . . this interchange is accomplished primarily by means of books, publications, and educational, scientific and cultural materials.

The Florence Agreement covers a wide range of forms of information, but the head of the list is reserved for printed books. Contracting states undertake not to apply customs duties or other charges on, or in connection with, the importation of books from other contracting states. That is the most important clause. They also undertake, as far as possible, to grant licenses and foreign exchange for the importation of educational, scientific, and cultural materials from other contracting states, and to do so unconditionally for certain categories, among them books consigned to public libraries and some other institutions.

Canada has not yet ratified the Florence Agreement. Canadian publishers have benefited from it nevertheless. Most notably, they have gained because the United States (and some other countries, of less economic significance to Canada) extended

the provisions of the agreement to all countries, whether signatories or not. Canadian publishers have accordingly enjoyed for some years customs-free access to the U.S. market, albeit within the considerable non-tariff restrictions imposed by the manufacturing provisions of the U.S. Copyright Act. Specifically, this meant that when President Nixon imposed a special ten per cent surcharge tariff on imports in August 1971, books were exempted. Similarly, Canadians benefited a few years ago when the United Kingdom government imposed sweeping foreign exchange regulations, and subsequently withdrew them from books when the powerful Publishers Association in that country pointed out that the new rules breached the Florence Agreement.

#### SELLING ABROAD

A mixture of cultural and economic reasons makes it desirable that Canadian houses should engage, and engage aggressively, in international publishing. The impediments to greater involvement will be discussed later; so too will some steps to encourage sales abroad. First, however, let us consider the principal ways in which Canadian-based publishing houses may promote the sale of their books in foreign markets. In the six approaches to this goal listed below, the first applies to an already international imprint; the second involves eclipse of the Canadian imprint in order to maximize sales; the remaining four involve the dissemination of the Canadian imprint abroad. The approaches are listed roughly in order of increasing Canadian capital and operating investment in international publishing, increasing speculative risk and potential profit, and increasing Canadian "presence" beyond this country's borders. They are:

1. The Canadian subsidiary of an international publishing firm often (but not always) can be assured that books it originates which have an international appeal will be catalogued and sold by the parent firm and its other branches.
2. A Canadian house may sell an edition of several hundred or more copies of a work, or the rights to publish the work, to a foreign publisher, and grant the purchasing firm rights to sell the work in a specific territory or in translation.
3. A Canadian firm may make an exclusive arrangement with a foreign firm to exchange lists within their respective territories.
4. A Canadian firm may appoint a sales agent to represent its list to booksellers and institutional purchasers abroad.
5. A Canadian firm may undertake to promote its books actively abroad itself, principally through the mails; it may at the same time decide to warehouse its books abroad to provide rapid service to purchasers.
6. A Canadian firm may open branches in other countries.



*The Canadian subsidiary*

The situation here is not clearcut, and varies from firm to firm and even from title to title within firms. Some subsidiaries are highly integrated with the parent; others enjoy considerable if not almost total autonomy in publishing decisions. A few examples will demonstrate the range of possibilities.

Oxford University Press in Canada is technically a branch of the London Office with freedom to publish Canadian books as it wishes. Co-publication has occasionally been arranged outside the Oxford group. Normally, however, for each title issued from Toronto, a "new book announcement" is sent to all other Oxford branches before printing commences. The branches then place orders for the number of copies they will require in time for the press run to be established. The system can carry a substantial number of Canadian books abroad: an analysis of OUP children's books some years ago showed that two-thirds of the income they generated came from foreign sales.

Doubleday Canada Limited is a separately incorporated subsidiary, but can guarantee that books it originates will be listed and promoted by the U.S. parent. The Doubleday Offices in London and Paris will also seek to sell rights to transatlantic houses. A book that promises a substantial U.S. sale, and which requires a larger than normal advance on royalties, may require negotiations with the New York headquarters, but apart from such rare occasions the Toronto Office reaches agreements with authors independently. Full royalties are paid to Canadian authors on U.S. sales. In short, the whole of North America is treated as a continental market, and American sales – even on a book that may seem to be overwhelmingly Canadian, such as Robert Thomas Allen's recent Leacock Award winner – may be considerably greater than those in this country.

Prentice-Hall of Canada Limited analyses each manuscript that comes to it for publication, and depending on the potential market follows one of three paths. If the major market is Canadian, the decision to publish is reached in Toronto. If the major market appears to be overwhelmingly in the United States, the manuscript is promptly referred to the New York office for the decision to publish. If it appears that the major market may be American but that there is also an attractive market in Canada, the Canadian office will make the publishing decision and offer the book to the U.S. parent. If the offer is declined, co-publication may be negotiated with other U.S. houses, but the head office must have the first option. The American edition may be partially or completely manufactured in Canada, and may involve separate contract and royalty arrangements. Arrangements between the Canadian office and the United Kingdom subsidiary of Prentice-Hall are also possible but have in general been less successful, largely because of the disadvantage of high Canadian book prices in the British market.

Of all the examples, Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd. enjoys the greatest autonomy. It reaches publishing decisions on its own and offers editions to the



British parent and other wings of the Macmillan group; but it may equally well co-publish with other houses. In turn, the British office may offer editions of its books to the Canadian branch or choose on certain titles to negotiate with other Canadian firms.

To sum up, publication by the Canadian subsidiary of an international company does not guarantee sales abroad, but can provide well regulated channels to foreign markets. Such subsidiaries therefore may have inherent advantages in the competition for Canadian authors.

### *Sale of rights and editions*

This is the classic form of international publishing, the goal which (more than any other) draws thousands of publishers to the Frankfurt Book Fair every fall. It involves co-operation between two or more houses, based on a contractual agreement which assigns to each a specific market. It may or may not involve the sale of actual physical books.

Let us say a Canadian publisher has a title under consideration, or actually undergoing editing, that has a substantial appeal to a British audience. He approaches a British publisher who is already reaching that audience, and offers him the work. The Briton may purchase from the Canadian house rights to sell the book in the United Kingdom, or in all parts of the Commonwealth outside of Canada, and in return will agree to pay the Canadian house a royalty on all copies he sells. He will frequently undertake to manufacture the books himself, thus relieving the Canadian of all fixed investment in the British market. Sometimes the originating publisher may assist in the manufacture by providing the purchaser with reproduction proofs in return for compensation. Or the Canadian may entrust total manufacturing of both Canadian and British editions to the British house, in order to take advantage of lower printing and binding costs overseas. The books published by the British house will bear its imprint, often with the Canadian origin noted on the copyright page. Sometimes the title page will bear a dual imprint, showing both Canadian and British houses.

If the British publisher feels that there is not enough demand in his market to warrant a separate printing, he may offer to buy instead a bulk quantity of several hundred books, with his imprint on the title page, from the Canadian publisher. The books may be in the form of bound and jacketed volumes, sewn and gathered signatures, or flat sheets. Once again, the British publisher will secure the exclusive right to market them within certain areas.

In either case the agreement normally lasts as long as sales of the book continue and for a period thereafter (often six months) during which reprinting may occur. The purchaser of rights has the responsibility to keep the book in print in his area; the purchaser of an edition has the right to re-order further copies from the originating publisher under agreed conditions and in agreed quantities. In the sale of

rights and editions, the purchasing publisher normally is licensed to sell subsidiary rights in his area, subject to royalty payments to the originating firm. It is possible however to separate rights, for example to hardcover and paperback editions of one title in a foreign market.

The advantages of any such co-publication agreement are evident. In the first place, the Canadian publisher gains an ally based in the foreign market, with his own salesmen and distribution services active there. In the sale of rights, he is relieved of all but editorial investment in that area. In the sale of an edition, he extends his printing run beyond what he could undertake on his own, thus reducing unit costs across the board. At the same time, he receives an immediate cash payment on the edition sale, and avoids the costs of promotion and distribution in the foreign market.

On the other hand, the discount the originating publisher must offer on the sale of an edition (often 65 per cent) is so high that the dollar return may be less than he could hope to obtain by his own efforts in the foreign market at normal discounts over the several years' lifetime of the book. He may also find that the costs of book manufacture in this country make it difficult to sell editions abroad at much above actual cost. But the assured immediate sale of a substantial number of copies, plus the resulting increment to the print run (leading to lower selling prices or higher profits, depending on the publisher's decision), the greater distribution offered the author, and the relationship thus established with the purchasing house, usually outweigh any disadvantages.

Sale of rights abroad may also involve permission to another publisher to issue the book in translation – in French, German, Spanish, Swedish, or another language – at his own expense, with royalty payments to the copyright owner – normally the originating publisher. These payments are of course shared with the author according to contract.

The territories for which rights may be offered by Canadian publishers are, first, the United States; then, the Commonwealth with specified countries excepted as desired; next, Europe through Israel; and then smaller markets such as Japan and the Far East, Australia and New Zealand, India and Pakistan, and Africa. (The Commonwealth is generally taken to include all member countries as of 1959 plus South Africa, Eire, Burma, Egypt, Iraq, Israel, and Jordan. As noted, however, specific markets may be reserved for special arrangements. A Canadian publisher may, for example, be able to place a small edition of a book in Australia as well as a larger one with a U.K. publisher who will serve the rest of the Commonwealth.)

In general, Canadian publishers have actively pursued the United States market for rights. A notable example is the success of the Fenwick Lansdowne "Bird" books published in Canada by McClelland and Stewart and in the United States by Houghton Mifflin Company. In the educational field, the Book Society of Canada, to cite another example, has had considerable success in co-publishing south of the

border, although to avoid American skepticism of foreign schoolroom products the Canadian origin was expunged. (The preference for an "adapted" text is not peculiar to the United States, of course, as any Canadian educationist knows.) Canadians have in general been less successful in, and less active in pursuit of, other world markets. In part this has to do with market conditions and interest in Canadian books; Clarke, Irwin, for example, while representing Jonathan Cape in Canada, has never managed to place an edition with that British house. On the other hand, some of the leading Canadian publishers do not make a practice of attending the Frankfurt Book Fair or of developing contacts abroad in a sustained manner in other ways. Unfortunately it is possible to be so caught up in the problems of being a Canadian publisher as to ignore much of the rest of the world.

Some Canadian publishers do not as a normal condition contract with authors for more than Canadian rights – although they may include in their standard agreement a clause empowering them to try to arrange for separate printing and publication outside Canada. One such firm is Macmillan. A case in point is Robertson Davies' recent novel, *Fifth Business*. Macmillan of Canada holds rights only in this country. The Canadian firm steered Dr. Davies' agent to his eventual British and United States publishers, and for a time hoped to sell flat sheets to the U.S. house. But the sale of sheets fell through as interest in the book grew abroad, making an American printing practical. Macmillan did not therefore benefit from the sales in that country, except undoubtedly from the spillover of U.S. publicity as the book became a book-club selection and the author was interviewed in *Publishers' Weekly* and other media. What is worse, Macmillan now faces direct competition from a paperback Signet, licensed by Viking (the U.S. hardcover publisher), manufactured in the United States, and sold in Canada with a maple leaf on the cover. The Macmillan policy on rights stems from pressure soon after the second world war from Canadian authors, and undoubtedly it does give the best possible break to a writer with true international appeal. It is questionable moreover whether any Canadian publisher, whatever his policy, could regularly secure more than Canadian rights from an established novelist such as Dr. Davies. The result, however, is a loss of revenue at home from the sale of international rights that would help publish the first novels of other Canadian authors.

The marketing internationally of rights to books demands a sustained effort by the originating publisher, and the gradual fostering of personal contact with equivalent houses abroad. A Canadian publisher who wants to take part in international co-publishing must personally, or by delegation, study the catalogues and publications of houses in other market areas for interests, editorial and production standards, and pricing policies similar to his own. Then each new editorial project must be considered for the likelihood of a sale of rights, or of an edition, to some other publishing house which has an appropriate list-profile. The process becomes in great measure intuitive: an experienced sales manager will be able to identify a



book almost immediately as a possible "Little, Brown title" or "Weidenfeld purchase." Co-publication works best when the two houses have complementary strengths, so that in fact the trade can be two-way. The relation between University of Toronto Press and Routledge and Kegan Paul is an example of such a two-way stream, with each buying editions from the other. And, as in any business arrangement that is expected to develop over a period of time, co-publication demands a considerable amount of mutual trust between the parties, based on personal contact.

This contact can be developed by correspondence, and by annual visits (if possible) to offices in New York, London, Paris, and other major publishing centres. The Frankfurt Book Fair is the one occasion each year, however, when publishers from all over the world meet on level terms – that is, each with his own forthcoming titles appropriately organized to show to others for the negotiation of sales and purchases. The Fair last October filled three massive halls with publishers' stands and exhibits, containing tens of thousands of books from some fifty countries, strung along miles of aisles. But, as always, the books on display were of secondary interest, an indication of present interests and current performance. The stock in trade at Frankfurt is futures: the plans and outlines for books in the making, held in heads and briefcases. Frankfurt is the one great international entrepôt for the sale of co-editions, territorial rights, and translation rights. It is, as one frequent participant has written, "a mammoth thing, a nightmare for each participating publisher without which, however, he cannot live . . . : for five days, the people attending are dedicated to nothing else but the book." Frankfurt, in short, offers the best opportunity for publishers, from Canada as well as other countries, to meet their opposite numbers face to face, to make new contacts and develop old ones. One Canadian publisher, University of Toronto Press, has sent two or more representatives to Frankfurt for several years and has maintained a separate stand there. Other Canadian publishers have been represented through their agents, and in recent years in a national exhibition at the fair sponsored by the federal government. The Canada Council has made very important grants to the Canadian Book Publishers' Council and the Conseil Supérieur du Livre to make it possible for several representatives of Canadian houses to attend the fair each year. There are several other annual international book fairs, including ones held at Nice, Brussels, Leipzig, and Jerusalem, but Frankfurt remains pre-eminent.

### *Exchange of lists*

This is a relatively unusual approach which involves an agreement between a Canadian and a foreign publisher under which each agrees to stock, promote, and sell all the publications of the other on an exclusive basis in his respective territory. Judicious selection of partners is essential, for a large U.S. firm is not likely to extend itself to promote a small Canadian list, and the smaller Canadian partner may be



swamped by a U.S. list too large for it to handle, but this can prove a most promising arrangement for any house that can find another of similar size, capacity, and interest.

An example is the agreement between New Press and the New York firm of Outerbridge and Lazard, which is flexible and well designed to aid their mutual development. In effect, they have a co-publishing arrangement whereby books are exchanged, with separate imprints, on a basis of not fewer than 3,500 copies for the U.S. market and not fewer than 1,500 for the Canadian. Where the market for importation does not seem large enough to absorb these minimums, smaller quantities of a title down to about fifty may be taken on a returnable basis, with the originating publisher's imprint. The two houses also have co-editing arrangements where necessary. For example, the Canadian *Shrug: Trudeau in Power* was published by the American partner as *Trudeau in Power* with a glossary of Canadian terms to aid the American reader. New Press is currently trying to negotiate a similar arrangement with a small publishing house in the United Kingdom.

### *Appointing agents*

The agency system is a familiar part of the publishing scene within Canada. Most Canadian houses are agents. What is important in this context is that a number of them are also principals, and have themselves arranged with firms in, for example, the United Kingdom or Australia to stock, promote, and distribute the Canadian house's list on an exclusive basis in their territories. Such arrangements are not necessarily (perhaps not even often) reciprocal. Oberon Press is represented in the United Kingdom by Dobson, but Dobson's agent in Canada is General Publishing.

To obtain world-wide coverage solely through other publishers requires either a network of agreements with several houses in other countries or one agreement with a large publisher of international stature. The first course is difficult to negotiate and may be expensive to maintain because of the number and complexity of the many contracts involved; the second is also likely to prove difficult to negotiate, and the Canadian list is apt to be lost alongside the agent's own obviously far larger list. An alternative is to make an agreement with an international but non-publishing sales agent. The largest of these are Feffer & Simons, Inc., and Henry M. Snyder & Co., Inc., but several smaller ones are listed as well in *Literary Market Place*. The largest firms have branches on all continents: both those previously named, for example, have headquarters in New York and offices in Australia, England, Hawaii, Holland, India, Japan, Mexico, and the Philippines; in addition Feffer & Simons has branches in France and Indonesia, and Henry M. Snyder in Argentina, Brazil, Lebanon, Spain, and West Pakistan.

A Canadian house which has appointed such a firm its agent will (under a typical agreement) supply a certain number of copies of each of its titles – usually one copy for each branch through which it wishes to be represented (the agreement can,

among other things, specify in what territories the agent will act) – and several hundred copies of its catalogues and pertinent direct-mail material. The agent will undertake to include the Canadian titles in special catalogues which it prepares, to present the Canadian titles in the course of personal visits by its salesmen to booksellers, and to distribute direct-mail material in its territories. All orders from these territories are forwarded by the agent to the Canadian publisher for fulfilment. The agent pays the publisher each month for books ordered, and invoices the individual customers. The agent is paid as a commission a percentage of the sales achieved, so that no capital outlay is required of the Canadian principal. Moreover, the best of the agents guarantee payment so that the Canadian is relieved of credit problems which are almost certain to arise with sales abroad, particularly when currency restrictions exist. The commission under such an arrangement is likely to be about 21 per cent of net sales after the appropriate discount to the customer. It is nonetheless a relatively inexpensive way for Canadian houses to achieve representation throughout the world – particularly to the booksellers who, on other continents, are the channel to libraries as well as private customers. Use of such an agent also has disadvantages, however. Any one list, particularly a small one, is likely to receive only a very limited amount of attention from a sales agent who may represent more than two hundred publishers; and the Canadian publisher has only limited control over the ways in which he is thus being represented.

It is also possible for a Canadian house to secure the services of individual commission salesmen in the United States, United Kingdom, and Europe at least. These are men who travel around a given area, say the northeastern United States, representing ten or a dozen houses in calls on libraries and booksellers, presenting new titles and checking on stock and demand for old ones. They operate on a commission (usually 10 per cent of sales achieved) and make use of promotional material prepared by the originating publisher. They are the equivalent of a firm's own traveller in areas which cannot support the salary and overhead of a full-time representative. The best are highly respected in the trade. But clearly it will pay such a man to represent a Canadian list only if there is adequate market potential in his territory. In the United Kingdom and other overseas markets, their usefulness is restricted by the comparatively difficult question of service, by limits on foreign exchange, and by the relatively high prices of Canadian books. They may however be a useful means of reaching American markets, and particularly American bookstores.

#### *Direct promotion abroad, with warehousing*

Canadian publishers can, with care and some investment in time, build up mailing lists of potential customers abroad – particularly of booksellers in Europe and of booksellers and librarians in the United States – that will permit them to mount their own direct promotional campaigns in these markets. There is perhaps an

opportunity here for an enterprising Ontario-based direct-mail house to develop lists of foreign booksellers and libraries, to whom might be sent monthly packages of material from a number of Canadian publishers, each of whom would benefit from savings in costs.

Direct-mail promotion, in Europe particularly, can be enhanced by promises of prompt delivery of the Canadian books, using the services of a local warehouse-shipper. There are several such companies available. An agreement with European Book Service, one of the largest, is likely to involve the following arrangements. The Canadian publisher supplies the EBS warehouse with an initial stock of each title, enough to meet an estimated six months' demand in back orders and sales. The books remain his property and on his inventory. He can then mail promotional material from Canada to a list supplied by the warehousing company from its customer records – which, in view of the size and centrality of the operation, may be expected to be quite comprehensive. Along with the mailing pieces goes a multi-lingual flyer asking customers to send their orders to EBS for prompt delivery. The warehouse fills the orders and writes the invoices. Each month it sends a statement to the publisher showing books sold and net receipts with commission (10 per cent) subtracted. It guarantees credit, and uses its own judgment in re-ordering books from Canada to maintain adequate stock in hand.

The advantages here must be measured first in customer good will based on good service. The Canadian publisher avoids capital outlay by using a central warehouse, but may face some fixed charges for space if his turnover is below a set minimum. Long-distance stock control is complex, however, and repeated errors in judgment as to demand may tie up a huge number of books in Europe. The use of warehouse services can be most effective when combined with use of a sales agent (and Feffer & Simons has just opened a central warehouse of its own in Holland), but the commission cost of course rises accordingly.

### *Opening foreign branches*

Eventually, the Canadian house who has made use of agents and central warehouses for sales abroad may decide to start its own direct operation in one or more foreign markets. The branches to begin with are likely to be involved in no more than sales and distribution, although they may well serve as a base for editorial operations under special circumstances. (If, for example, McGill-Queen's University Press, which shares a branch office in London, were to enter into a complex series of books with British authors requiring consultation and perhaps continual access to the British Museum, it might conceivably send an editor for certain months in the year to work out of its London office.)

The decision to open an overseas branch must be based on the availability of capital (for the branch will not immediately pay for itself and will add considerably to overhead) and on the present and potential market in the area so to be served. A



minimum volume of business is necessary that is probably beyond most Canadian houses individually. The establishment of a shared overseas branch by several companies is, however, possible and offers substantial savings in overhead costs. This solution has been used by groups of North American university presses with some success in London; the McGill-Queen's office is part of such a co-operative venture. It is not impossible to imagine commercial publishers attempting the same co-operation, for apart from textbooks Canadian titles are not usually directly competitive with one another. Lists vary enough that groupings of publishers could produce strong and complementary sales partnerships to reach directly into foreign markets. Such co-operation is indeed part of the proposal for Canadian Book Centres abroad.

### *Combinations of approaches*

The methods of selling books abroad that have been outlined above are not mutually exclusive. One approach may be best suited for an important foreign territory, another for a marginal territory, and for maximum effectiveness various approaches may have to be combined. There are many ways this can be done, but the example most familiar to the authors is the international marketing of books by the University of Toronto Press, which derives nearly half of its sales revenue from outside Canada. Its operations include the sale of several titles each year in editions to foreign publishers; the use of agents to stock, promote, and distribute all Toronto imprints world-wide (Oxford University Press in Britain and most of the Commonwealth, the Australian National University Press in Australia and New Zealand, United Publishers Services Limited of Tokyo for Japan and Korea, and Feffer & Simons and the Centro Americano de Libros Academicos in Latin America); commission salesmen to represent it in the major markets of the United States; warehousing of its titles outside Amsterdam for European sales, supported by direct-mail promotion from Canada to the Continental market; and the establishment of a branch office and warehouse in Buffalo which handles and ships U.S. orders and, it is anticipated, will become a centre for editorial operations in the Niagara border region. The network of depots and local sales representatives reflects a philosophy that service and salesmanship go hand in hand. In addition, the University of Toronto Press is active in selling translation rights to its works, which have appeared in many foreign languages; it exhibits its books at international meetings of scholars and publishers on every continent; it sends out hundreds of review copies of its books abroad; and it seeks to ensure inclusion of its titles in the extensive bibliographies of current titles that are prepared by European booksellers for distribution to their clients.

### CANADIAN PURCHASE OF RIGHTS

The revenue accruing from imported books is essential to Canadian publishing to compensate for the small population and extensive geography of the domestic mar-



ket. Books that can be sold without editorial overhead are a blessing, financially at least. As a result, few Canadian houses are not involved in importation, sometimes as agents for as many as thirty or more principals in the United States and United Kingdom. But in relation to the number of titles that enter Canada each year under agency arrangements, very few are purchased by Canadian houses in editions. Every year, indeed, some of the national best-sellers (including two on the top-ten fiction list issued by the *Toronto Star* as this was written, and such examples from the past as *Games People Play* and *The Cruel Sea*) are distributed by agents when they might profitably have been bought in editions or better still have been manufactured in Canada under license.

What is the difference? First, the Canadian co-publisher, who can secure a higher discount on edition-size purchases than is apt to be offered an agent, has the prospect of greater revenue and therefore of greater potential for further publication. (He also takes a greater risk, for the agent can cautiously place small but frequent orders for a title while demand mounts, albeit at the risk of providing poor service. On specialized books published overseas, however, a Canadian co-publisher may be able to secure rights for the whole of North America and thus somewhat discount this risk.) Second, importation through editions can mitigate some of the inefficiency inherent in the agency system. When an agent is responsible for a principal's entire list, it is inevitable that for every profitable title he thereby gains he will have to stock many more which will sell only a few copies each, thereby draining his income in overhead and forcing up prices. The importer of editions can choose his titles carefully and restrict his investment and inventory to those which promise to sell at least several hundred copies here. Third, the process of selection enhances the publishing function of the importer and may contribute to development of his editorial capacity – both functions which can be overwhelmed by the time and effort required to administer the distribution of thousands of agency titles from a number of principals. And, finally, if the book is manufactured in Canada under purchase of rights, the printing, binding, and papermaking capacity of the country is strengthened to the benefit of the entire industry.

The McClelland and Stewart list, which each year includes a substantial number of purchased editions, among them usually some expensive art books which require international co-publication to be economically viable, exemplifies the strengths in this approach. McClelland and Stewart also maintain an active agency for several principals: the two methods of importation work in tandem.

The agency system appears to be an integral part of Canadian publishing. But in the face of inroads from jobbers and the establishment of their own branches by the most profitable of principals (for the successful agent inherently encourages his principal to open a branch of his own), more attention may have to be paid to re-organization of book importation with greater emphasis on editions and rights.

Canadian publishers may also secure rights to translations of works originally

issued abroad in other languages. This has all the advantages of selective purchasing of any edition. However, the cost of translation, which can be substantial, adds to the risk, forcing up either the size of the minimum printing run or the list price of the book concerned. The smallness of the Canadian market then presents even greater problems than normally. But Canadian publishers often can secure North American, or even world, rights to the translation, so as to ensure the broadest possible sales.

#### IMPEDIMENTS AND PROPOSED REMEDIES

There are a number of serious impediments to the development of Canadian-based international publishing. The first is the financial interests of the author of that most profitable species of exported books, a work that promises to sell substantially more copies outside Canada than at home. Responsible publishers place the author's interests before their own. As one remarked, "I can't pretend to him that I can sell as many copies in the United States as Doubleday." Canadian publishers selling abroad do not have the budgets, the reputation, the platoons of salesmen, to boost sales in the United States or other foreign markets that local publishers can deploy. Equally important, they do not enjoy the easy access to the purchasers of subsidiary rights – the filmmakers, the television executives, the magazine editors whose nod produces the greatest publishing revenue (particularly of fiction) today. A Canadian author who has expectations in these directions would frankly be ill-advised to depend solely on a Canadian house; his agent will as a matter of course attempt to secure separate U.S. (and possibly U.K.) contracts. The Canadian publisher thus is left with his own small domestic market.

The author, or the publisher on his behalf, must also be aware that should his book attract more modest interest outside Canada, but still enough to prompt the purchase of an edition, he will receive only about half the domestic royalty on these "export copies." This is because royalties are paid not by the publisher but by the purchaser, and if a whole edition were sold on the same royalty basis as that applying to the sale of a single copy to a bookseller, the cost would be prohibitive. (By the same token, it is true that many Canadian authors who have books published outside the country receive only "export royalties" in their home market – Canada.) It may be to the author's best interest, if he sees edition-sized sales abroad, to place his manuscript with the Canadian branch of an international house that may pay domestic-scale royalties on books sold outside Canada by the parent or other branches. In this case the totally Canadian-owned publisher suffers.

Quite apart from these competitive disadvantages in securing manuscripts with export possibilities, Canadian publishers face considerable difficulties in the world market. Their domestic base is so limited that few have the resources to sell aggres-

sively internationally on their own; the smaller firms indeed have trouble enough promoting and distributing their books adequately within Canada. In addition, Canadian printing and binding prices are high, bookpapers are inferior to common American stocks, and there are no major book manufacturing centres to produce long runs at low costs equivalent to R. R. Donnelley outside Chicago or the giant British Printing Corporation.

But Canada does have a considerable number of good designers who can produce books to compete with any in the world in attractiveness. And every year many of the two-thousand-odd new Canadian titles are likely to interest some people outside Canada – not enough people perhaps to make publication abroad a first priority, but enough to produce significant marginal income to a Canadian publisher through direct sales on his own or through co-publication, and thus to extend the author's audience beyond his borders. Of course a substantial number of the new Canadian books are only of local interest. But books on hockey, on old Canadian pottery, on Canadian history, on Canada's prime minister, or on Eskimo sculpture – to pick a few from current Canadian publishers' lists that are being sold in the United States by one channel or another – do have proven appeal outside this country. Scholarly books lend themselves particularly to international publishing because scholarship itself is international. A collection of articles on micro-organisms in food, for example, edited by two Canadian scientists, has been translated into three languages and has enjoyed a widespread sale in English because of its topic – everyone has to eat, and prefers to do so without danger of poisoning – and because its numerous authors came from several different countries. Canada indeed has benefited from the holding here of international scientific congresses, which almost invariably produce by-product books, and from the restraints that the United States has at times placed on such gatherings by limiting visits by scientists from Communist countries.

Canadian publishers have assistance, moreover, in one of the most discouraging aspects of international publishing. That is the problem of credit control over long distances, often involving soft currencies and restrictions on foreign exchange. They are eligible for protection by the Export Credit Insurance Corporation, a government agency established in 1944. This coverage is reasonably priced. It is not total, nor is it available on accounts handled by sales agencies on commission; but it does protect against non-payment by the foreign purchaser up to a period of twelve months, or his bankruptcy, or his inability to pay for reasons beyond his control such as blockage of funds or other transfer difficulties.

Significant markets for Canadian publishers do exist beyond North America. Witness the sale by one house of an edition of a book of Karsh portraits to a Dutch publisher (despite the fact that the considerable amount of text was all in English), or its more startling sale in Japan of 250 copies each of the opening volumes of the *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill* at \$12.50 per volume – more than were sold



in Canada! Canadian publishers might actively explore the possibilities in their sister Commonwealth, Australia, or see what advantages they may be able to offer the developing nations of Africa in educational books, given the unique Canadian combination of North American pedagogy and British orthography. They may also utilize the strengths of a second national language by selling in other countries, for example, English translations of works published in Quebec in French, or rights to textbooks in French prepared outside Quebec. (A successful introductory French language text has, to cite a single instance, been sold to a German publisher who adapted the English sections – the explanatory notes, vocabulary lists, and exercises – to his own language for use in German schools.)

Concurrently they must seek further international recognition of the facilities they offer for the publication in Canada of works by foreign writers, either through sale of editions or rights, or through direct agreement between author and publisher. In the same way that a Canadian author may make his own publishing arrangements with a U.S. or U.K. publishing house, authors outside this country should be encouraged to take advantage of the editorial skills and marketing potential of Canadian houses to reach not only the North American, but even the world, market.

Canadian publishing does not, however, have the economic resources to make a significant impact on the international scene on its own. Government support is needed. Some has been given. The cost of translation from one national language to another has been subsidized for specific projects, although much more could be done in this regard. Special costs of design and production also have been recognized, but again additional funds would make Canadian books that much more competitive. The government has supported a Canadian stand at the Frankfurt Book Fair in recent years and has assisted Canadian delegations of publishers to attend it. It has also assisted Canadian representation at some other international book fairs, and was responsible for a major exhibition of Canadian books, with supporting catalogues, at the last annual meeting of the American Library Association in Dallas. For the development of international publishing the Frankfurt Fair, as has been explained, is of pre-eminent importance, and increased government support (federal or provincial) to encourage attendance by more Canadian publishers would be beneficial in direct relation to the increased number of personal contacts with overseas publishers thus engendered.

Another important proposal, that has been put forward by the Canadian Book Publishers' Council and L'Association des Editeurs canadiens, is the development of Canadian Book Centres in London, Paris, and possibly New York. The creation of such centres would recognize that Canadian books do not now receive, overall, adequate exposure abroad, whether they are being distributed by agents or by the parent houses of Canadian-based subsidiary firms. They simply are not seen. Nor is there any place abroad generally *known* to carry, and *able* to fill orders for, all or



even most Canadian titles. The British recognized soon after the last war the value of such a centre in New York, and the British Book Centre in that city was sponsored by the British Council and a group of publishers. It performed an extremely useful function, particularly for the smaller publishers who could not afford trips across the Atlantic and did not have either branches or close relationships with U.S. houses.

The Canadian Book Centres, as proposed, would be showplaces displaying permanent collections of Canadian books in print; retail outlets for the sale of Canadian books; wholesale centres (backed by adjacent or nearby warehouses) for the prompt fulfilment of orders for Canadian books from foreign booksellers and librarians; and bases for regional promotional efforts by Canadian publishers. They would also be outlets for effective distribution of selected subject catalogues of Canadian books. Such catalogues, organized by reader interests and needs, rather than by publishing houses, are the most effective (if relatively expensive) means of consumer information about books.

The Book Centres, as proposed, would carry both English- and French-language Canadian titles. Special promotional or other expenses would be shared by the participating publishers. Operating expenses could very largely be met from sales, although the very extensive inventory involved would create some costs not faced by the average bookseller. Significant government assistance would be required, however, for the initial capital costs; for the preparation of seasonal and subject catalogues of Canadian lists; for the preparation of special exhibitions; and for extraordinary advertising. In its submission to the federal Task Force on Government Information, the CBPC said such centres "could provide a useful basis for development of Canadian exports, and if wisely planned they would receive the closest co-operation from the many Canadian publishers who are anxious to project their books into foreign markets." Parallel operations, possibly less ambitious, could be developed on a co-operative basis within the Commonwealth through the establishment of centres for Canadian books in Australia and New Zealand, and a centre for books from those countries here.

There are some other areas where, with appropriate support, Canadian publishers could make a contribution to their country's image abroad and to the world in general. They could participate significantly in a federally-supported program of low-cost editions of their books in developing countries, based on run-on Canadian costs or local manufacture. Arrangements for translation abroad, to help engender domestic publishing industries in other areas, is a further possibility. This latter proposal is similar to the Franklin Book Programs, Inc., in the United States, which is non-profit and supported by government and foundations. (Such a program would of course be impossible, however, were the federal government to follow some of the Economic Council of Canada's views on copyright as set forth in its *Report on Intellectual and Industrial Property*. It should be inconceivable that a Canadian pub-

lisher could encourage a low-cost edition in a developing country, from which no profit would derive, and then have this edition flood his home market.)

Another u.s. approach which could be studied and perhaps adapted to the needs of this country is the Information Media Guarantee Program, operated by the United States Information Agency. Under it, u.s. publishers can deal with dollar-short countries with a guarantee that their foreign-currency receipts will be converted into dollars.

The Task Force on Government Information has recommended (vol. 2, p. 343 of its report) that in co-operation with Canadian editors and booksellers, the federal government study all possible ways of improving the distribution of Canadian publications abroad. An industry so broadly based in Ontario (in its English-language segment at least) may in addition require provincial support to develop an international posture. Sales abroad are unlikely to make Canadian publishers wealthy, simply because international best-sellers are neither common nor likely to settle permanently in a Canadian house. But a more active program to develop a two-way stream of book sales between this country and others – through co-publication, through agencies, and through direct promotion – could produce marginal increments in market base and revenue at relatively little additional cost in overhead or manufacturing. It could also do much to carry to other lands the work of Canadian authors who would otherwise remain virtually unknown beyond their own borders.

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# *The Marketing of Trade Books in Canada*

DAVID MCGILL

Until the middle of the last century, books were published individually and only occasionally, as adjuncts to existing regional newspaper and government printing operations. The Foreign Imprints Act of 1847 was created to expand British publications in the colonies, but offered little or no protection to Canadian authors. Most of the books marketed in Canada for the next few decades were of foreign origin. However, between the turn of the century and the second world war a truly indigenous trade publishing industry began to take form, notwithstanding the setback suffered by all forms of trade book publishing during the Depression. During the second world war the market for books increased still further, but shortages of materials and labour limited the supply. (Nevertheless, one wartime phenomenon was the appearance of full-page advertisements for books in the Toronto daily newspapers, explained very simply by the one hundred per cent excess profits tax.) In the late 1940s many bookmen returned from the services and again picked up the reins, and during the fifties this resource of publishing experience and the emerging writing skills of such authors as MacLennan, Raddall, Hutchison, Graham, Mowat, Creighton, and Berton produced a vitality Canadian book publishing had never previously known. Markets increased, the industry had a new confidence, and the economy was generally prosperous. This happy state of affairs reached its peak in 1967 when more books were published in Canada than ever before. While the potential markets for books in Canada are now almost unlimited and opening fast in all directions, this relatively small and complex industry has, in the last few years, been largely unprepared and saddled with a multitude of problems which have prevented much real progress. The sources of difficulty have now been aired, some cures have already been prescribed and it is to be hoped that in a few years the industry will be able to achieve its full potential.

## THE TRADE BOOK PUBLISHER

In a role comparable to that of a film producer or theatrical impresario, the publisher evaluates, plans, finances, organizes, refines, has manufactured, and eventually makes public worthy pieces of book-length writing. His responsibilities involve

considerably more than the two acts (to paraphrase a standard dictionary definition) of producing copies of books and distributing them through booksellers and other means. His is the ultimate decision to publish in the first place, and when this has happened he assumes an absolute obligation to the author concerned, beginning with his duty to see that the book is produced in the best manner according to the circumstances. He is normally the custodian of the copyright, whether it is merely licensed to him or transferred outright – subject of course to the obligation to pay royalties.

A trade book can take from two weeks to ten years to publish, although as a rule the cycle is completed in about nine months. Because of the lengthy period between the author's starting to work and the finished book, the publisher is often asked to advance the author a fairly substantial amount of money to be applied against the estimated earned royalty. This can be as low as two hundred dollars, is frequently a few thousand dollars, and occasionally is in five figures for a best-selling author – always depending on the publisher's judgment of the market for the particular work. A publisher producing one hundred original books per year must advance substantial amounts of money months and even years ahead of publication, at least for those books which have significant sales prospects.

Elsewhere in the English-speaking world manuscripts usually reach publishers via agents or are solicited by the publisher in the first place. In Canada there are very few author's agents and relatively few houses publishing Canadian works. Many books come to the Canadian publisher directly "over the transom" in manuscript form or as an outline. After the publishing decision has been taken and the text is being developed, the publisher schedules production and plans his marketing approach according to a calculated set of circumstances. The editor begins to shape and refine the manuscript; the designer decides the size and format, the type style and size, the jacket, the illustrations, and the quality of materials; and the production manager prepares schedules and costs, employing the most suitable printers and binders. As the physical book begins to take shape the marketing staff begin planning the details of how to achieve simultaneous distribution across the country by publication date, the many special selling techniques that are likely to be necessary, and the distribution of review copies. Every effort is put forward to ensure that copies of the book will be available wherever there are potential consumers, and that librarians, booksellers, wholesalers, and consumers will be aware of its existence and encouraged to ask for it.

Because indigenous publishing is relatively new, is particularly complex by nature, and is under-capitalized, it has almost always been necessary for the true publisher as described above to support himself in Canada by playing some further role. He may act as distribution agent for foreign publishers of finished books; he may be a Canadian subsidiary, in some branch office arrangement, of a foreign publisher; or he may be both. If he operates as a subsidiary, he not only distributes foreign



books but may also have some editorial say in publishing plans, and on occasion may collaborate to publish jointly. Ten years ago the approximately thirty-five English-language publishers in Canada produced very few original books, devoting the vast majority of their time to distributing foreign works. Many of these same houses are now attempting to publish at least a few Canadian titles every year, and the largest Canadian trade publisher produces almost one hundred Canadian books out of a total list of about seven hundred.

#### THE TRADE BOOK

The trade, or general, book (as opposed to the textbook and other specialized publications, and not to be confused with journals produced for specific trades or professions) is created to inform, entertain, and instruct on almost any subject. It is called a trade book because it is designed to be promoted by the bookselling trade. It is consumed through public libraries, school and college libraries, corporation and legislative libraries, book and department stores, wholesalers, special retail outlets, mail order operations, and book clubs. It may be bound in paper, paper on boards, a cloth-covered case, leather, in folios, in some new experimental format, or in a very inexpensive merchandise format. It can be valued from several thousand dollars (for limited collectors' editions by celebrated authors) down to practically nothing, and it accounts for about 26 per cent of all books published in Canada.

Trade books are usually published to make money. However, they are also published to secure future anthology, film, and subsidiary sales, or to develop a new author with an eye to an eventual major work, or as part of the process of vanity publishing. They may be corporation histories, or they may be published chiefly for the prestige they bring to the publisher. Or the publisher may feel an obligation to put a worthy book before the public even though financial return is in doubt. By no means are all the best trade books financially successful for the publisher, nor are all the successful books necessarily the best literature.

Although trade books have the universe for inspiration, historical and biographical subjects seem to dominate, followed by the natural, political, and social sciences, and books for children. Fiction, classics, and books of religious dogma have been declining in numbers in recent years. While there are requests for more and better Canadian children's books, this category is perhaps the most difficult to develop as far as indigenous publishing is concerned.

Some books are instantly popular, sometimes as predicted through careful market analysis and at other times unexpectedly so – perhaps because of a change in world affairs or an increase in popularity of the subject or author. The public responds to these “best-sellers” in much the same way it does to the fads, trends, and fashions of ladies' high-style clothing, hit-parade records, and Oscar-winning movies. There are those that become popular months after publication and others

that continue as durable backlist titles with predictable sales year after year. Most fall somewhere in between.

The number of new English-language books, published each year is enormous – approximately 23,500 new titles from the United Kingdom, 24,300 from the United States, others from Australia and other foreign sources, and about 2,000 from Canada. As well there are available as many as 10,000 previously-published Canadian titles and tens of thousands of titles from foreign sources that are still in print. All these must be marketed to approximately twenty-two million people, minus the seven million Canadians who consider French their mother tongue, and minus the many others who cannot read books in the English language for one reason or another. The Canadian trade publisher thus operates under severe handicaps. His British and American counterparts have much larger markets and can concern themselves chiefly with their own original publications, including a few titles from the other major country and a very few from Canada. The Canadian is deluged with titles from foreign sources. Nevertheless there is an increasing recognition and demand for Canadian books. Regional publishing is increasingly active; but national distribution of the books so produced remains a problem.

Canadian books are primarily printed and bound in Canada – in Toronto, southern Ontario, Vancouver, Winnipeg, Montreal, and the Maritimes, in order of volume. In addition, many books are manufactured for Canadian publishers in the United Kingdom, Italy, Japan, Hong Kong, the United States, Holland, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and Ireland.

#### SOURCES OF BOOKS

It appears from the above that some 50,000 new books in the English language each year can consider Canada a potential market, plus many, many more that are already published. Where do they come from, and how do they get here?

A Canadian book may originate with a true Canadian publisher, and be manufactured, promoted, sold, and distributed here by him or for him. Or it can originate here and yet have all or part of the manufacturing provided outside the country, usually for economic reasons, but occasionally because of production considerations. The publisher knows he faces lively competition, has a small, far-flung market, and yet faces manufacturing costs for minimum quantities that are much the same in Canada as elsewhere. Where his American cousin distributes 25,000 copies or more of a casebound book of major marketing importance on a subject of universal appeal, the Canadian as agent can expect to distribute only 1,000 to 1,500 copies of the same book. However, his own manufacturing minimums as an originating publisher are 7,500 to 10,000 for a \$17.50 illustrated book, 5,000 for \$6.95–\$7.50 nonfiction, 3,000 for a \$2.95 paperback, and 10,000 for a mass market 95-cent paperback. Those books dependent on fad or trend usually reach peak sales

within the first four to five months and the publisher must seek to sell out his printing in that time. Other more lasting books should more often than not sell eighty per cent of the printing the first season. A book may be successful enough to go into a second printing; then the cost (even if part of the original preparatory costs may be written off), the timing (no use having a best-seller reprinted to arrive on December 24 or, worse, December 27), and the balance of the total market that remains unreached are all important considerations. In general, on new publications and reprints, the publisher must weigh, on the one hand, easier accessibility, somewhat higher costs, sometimes lower quality for dollars paid, a more restricted selection of materials, and the likelihood of having to wait four to six weeks for press time in busy periods if he manufactures his book in Canada, against, on the other hand, lower manufacturing costs, added landing charges, extended shipping time, possible labour disputes, handling, and awkwardness of communications if he turns to foreign sources for production. The larger Canadian publishers produce eighty to one hundred original books per year, but the majority produce under fifteen. This true publishing function, although it requires considerable financial risk, imagination, accessibility to publishable manuscripts, and market planning, can be profitable, and with luck and ideal conditions exceptionally successful. As many as 21 per cent of books sold in Canadian bookstores are Canadian books in a broad sense.

Then there are those books of Canadian authorship or subject matter or by world-renowned authors, which may be produced in close collaboration by American, British, and Canadian publishers. These publishers may or may not have a corporate relationship. If they do, then the publishing arrangement is likely to be more completely spelled out than if they do not. Normally, each publisher controls the exclusive and legally recorded copyright in his respective country and pays royalty to the author, or his agent. Printing quantities are combined, and with minor editorial and imprint changes the book is produced in the country offering the best manufactured price. In this situation the Canadian publisher has fair editorial control, some say in design, and of course benefits from cost savings. Sometimes the book is printed abroad and bound in Canada.

#### TRADE BOOK MARKETS

Although there have been recent voices of doom that prophesy the eventual disappearance of the book as we know it within the next twenty-five, fifty, or one hundred years, the written word as the record of a thought, event, or creation seems in fact to be a long way from extinction. The average citizen still needs books initially to reach a basic level of literacy and education, and thereafter for pleasure and entertainment, general broadening of experience and reference, to earn a living, and to improve his own value on the labour market. Parents and relatives select the earliest books for the child and they, churches, schools, and libraries



select and furnish the books he reads in the next few years. There is a three- or four-year hiatus in the early teens when other forms of communication and activity leave little time for book reading; however, by the mid-teens a new and much more mature awareness of books develops. Some books are passed on, some are used as course or reference material, some are purchased from stores, mail order catalogues, or book clubs, and some are borrowed from public libraries. Some are required immediately in response to best-seller trends and are almost as quickly shelved, some are lavish publications used to impress, others (like the classics) are given to children as presents and prizes to be saved and passed on like heirlooms, others are kept handy for instant reference, some (popular paperbacks) are widely distributed, read, and discarded, and some are digested slowly and retained as works of enduring value. In other words, each book has its own very special market and means of distribution. What we are concerned with here is the trade book – generally, the kind of book that is not published primarily as a classroom book.

The publisher usually thinks first of the retailer when considering a book's best-seller and major marketing potential. While Canada's expenditure per capita on books compares favourably with that of other developed countries, relatively few purchasers are actually involved. The surprisingly few bookstores that do exist serve the larger urban centres primarily. It is generally considered that a small, efficient bookstore needs a reasonably sophisticated population of 30,000 or more to survive.

Canada has far fewer stores per capita than Britain or most countries in Europe. In fact, there are only about eighty competent and active bookstores, department store book departments, and book chain branches, plus some seventy good smaller specialized stores, book departments, and chain branches, plus about 230 stores and departments carrying some books together with stationery, furniture, records, paint and wallpaper, etc., plus another 750 variety stores, smoke shops and news-stands buying a limited number of "guaranteed sellers" from time to time. There are also a few assorted specialty stores that buy some religious books, or ski books, or antique collectors' books, or books in their own other special area of interest. Among the largest and best stores are a number of college bookstores that serve their faculty and student markets very well with trade books. Generally, the better independent bookstore operator is a well informed and dedicated book lover, who carries a wide selection of books, provides a special order service, has limited capital but reasonable freedom to spend it where he can make the greatest volume and profit, is a competent merchant but a cautious promoter, is increasingly competitive, is underpaid, co-operates with publishers, and considers that the publisher is doing a reasonable job (if he would only try to make things a little easier for the retailer). Department store and chain store management, with notable exceptions, are frequently so tied up in the details of administration, short staffed, hampered by budget and display space, lacking in book experience, and increasingly interested in



only those books of major importance, that they perform less and less service as book outlets to the community and the publisher. The operators of the smaller outlets have little knowledge of books or authors as such, and may have limited business experience; because books may provide less than normal financial gain compared with their other merchandise, they are reluctant to carry more than small assortments.

Institutions rather than individuals form the largest trade book market in Canada and seem to be increasing in importance in communities where booksellers are entirely absent or are overly cautious. They are concerned with the dissemination of information in the broadest sense and in general seem more interested in the quality of books and service than in the nationality of the publisher, author, or subject. This section of the market consists of public (adult, children's, reference, mobile and branch divisions, plus regional co-operatives), educational (all levels), corporation, government, legislative, and special or technical libraries. There are about 310 major public libraries across Canada, 520 medium to small, and 200 very small. Because of the importance of the institutional market all trade management is involved to some degree, and many publishers now have library or school library specialists or departments.

School librarians are frequently so unfamiliar with book selection that ordering is done with the help of recommended or approved lists, review media, and displays, with the final approval of a local co-ordinator or the local board of education. Many librarians are cautious about dealing directly with publishers' representatives, and prefer to buy on the basis of reviews which are often late and too frequently overlook Canadian publications altogether. The books that are ordered may come directly from the publisher, or from a local wholesaler or book bureau, a regional co-op, or a foreign wholesaler. Heretofore, many school librarians have seemed unaware of Canadian books or have not shown particular interest in them.

Public libraries choose their books (*via* a committee or an acquisitions librarian) from a salesman's presentation. The careful use of jackets, physical descriptions, and author information are important. Selection by the library may also be made from reviews, and orders may be placed directly with the publisher, a wholesaler, a regional co-op, or – especially in areas more remote from Toronto – with wholesalers located either in the U.K. or the U.S. In the past the public librarian ordered from foreign sources (bought around) only when the desired edition was not available from the Canadian publisher-agent. Recently, for the sake of efficiency and simplified accounting, there has been a tendency among several public library systems in eastern and western Canada to order books entirely from one source – very often foreign.

University, legislative, and federal government department libraries as a rule order sporadically and sparingly of specific reference books, specialized academic works, and the more serious Canadian books. In total they represent a multitude of

accounts with a considerable total buying power. Individually, they are difficult and costly to service by representatives' calls and because of their various specific needs they are difficult to approach efficiently by direct mail. They in turn have reason to complain of neglect and indifferent service. Of the many markets open to Canadian publishers perhaps none deserves greater attention.

There are perhaps two dozen wholesalers scattered across the country, of which about eight do an adequate job of representing the range of titles that are available and of concern to those whom they serve. These wholesalers distribute chiefly to schools and public libraries, and to a minor degree to retailers. Some of them evolved from newsstand distributors and some are allied to retail operations. In the U.S., wholesalers have retained regional territories (Manhattan) or specific markets (libraries) and vigorously support the publisher to the extent that most U.S. libraries and many bookstores are not normally served directly by most publishers at all. In Canada, practically no wholesaler regularly and actively solicits business from the retail sector, and few libraries consider wholesale service superior to that received from publishers. True, jobbers are often at the mercy of the publisher-agent for stock and at the mercy of government agencies for cash. Nevertheless, many carry a minimum of stock (some order only as they receive orders), sell primarily recommended titles, are very slow in paying the publisher, and a few scarcely qualify as *bona fide* jobbers; only a lack of efficient competitors allows them to remain in business.

By the late 1950s adequate service with respect to availability, reporting, and processing had become exceptionally difficult for libraries to find in Canada. In 1963, a group of publishers formed the Co-operative Book Centre. This step required co-op financing, credit arrangements, and voluntary direction by the publishers. Their aim was to keep library business in Canada. But managerial problems, fragmented direction, and financial difficulties combined to prevent this important experiment in co-operative library servicing from achieving its potential. After seven years it failed financially, and its assets were acquired by a single firm.

There are five basic types of trade paperbacks in Canadian publishing. The first is the American quality paperback which is usually relatively high priced, may or may not be returnable, and is sold in small quantities of each title at regular discounts to campus or just-off-campus stores and a few libraries. There are less expensive titles, too, which sell to much the same market but in larger quantities. Usually the subjects are so truly regional or academic as to preclude their achieving a wide appeal. The second type is the foreign mass paperback, frequently manufactured here, but usually with marketing policy decisions made in the foreign home office. Most distribution takes place through the members of the Periodical Distributors Association, although some key stores may be able to buy directly from the publishers or publisher-agents. The third, Canadian reprint paperbacks, are usually priced above so-called "mass-market" paperbacks and are marketed to regular

stores and libraries in the normal way. These may be relatively popular among the schools, but seem to be of minor interest to most newsstand distributors. The fourth, Canadian original paperbacks, are published in limited volume and may be distributed subject to regular trade terms to regular customers. Experience indicates that the newsstand distributors give rather indifferent support to these sporadic and often large-format paperbacks, gaining interest only *after* they become best-sellers, if they do. Frequently exposure is inadequate, payment slow, and the condition of returned books subject to dispute. In fact, some dealers take definite liberties with the publisher's stated terms since the dealer appears to feel that obtaining rack distribution is a distinct privilege for the smaller publisher. There are occasions when a dealer has taken on the distribution of a specialized book in a specialized part of his market, but the publisher has been unable to find any evidence that any effort was made: one publisher reported 2,016 copies of such a book returned out of 2,200 shipped to a large dealer.

The fifth type of trade paperback is the Canadian popular paperback (so-called despite its failure to gain the distribution or volume sales attained by foreign counterparts) which is sold through newsstands, self-serve vending machines, shopping plaza kiosks, supermarkets, drug stores, schools, and some regular bookstores and chains. Books reach these outlets through the 45 members of the Periodical Distributors Association involved in the regional distribution of mass paperbacks, magazines, newspapers, and occasional cased books. These members really exercise geographic monopolies, as in many areas no serious competition seems to exist. Several have foreign origins, and all are loosely connected by the association but operate with considerable independence. They offer discounts of 20 to 30 per cent to retailers, operating on an approximately equivalent margin themselves. In exchange they provide regular servicing of racks, return privileges, minimum inventories, and supposedly the best of current titles. Fast and wide distribution, national promotion, mass displays, and point-of-purchase material seem the keys to success. The large U.S. and U.K. paperback publishers receive most attention and Canadian publishers little if any. Some 250 to 350 new paperbacks are available to each dealer each month and obviously only a few can be exposed long enough for a realistic market reaction. Many are shipped back to the publisher in original unopened cartons; some are displayed for as little as seven days; and about 35 per cent of those that are displayed are returned to the publisher a month after publication. Total returns may average as high as 40 per cent of the original distribution. In many cases dealers prefer to return only the covers torn from the books – displayed or not displayed – for full credit, as though such books were as ephemeral as the dated periodicals that are handled in the same way.

One publisher attempted to establish a comprehensive series of popular Canadian paper titles in this market and was encouraged and guided in the beginning by two executives of the association. Over a period of three and a half to four years he



published fifty books in recognizable groups of three or four, priced at less than a dollar (his foreign competition was priced lower), with attractive covers, regular information releases, and limited promotion (free advertising mats); on these he offered the dealers a 90 per cent exclusive market, sixty-days credit, return privileges on covers only, prepaid shipping, and discounts of 46 to 50 per cent depending on the size of the territory. The series was in the end discontinued. It failed to achieve wide and sustained exposure, and without the anticipated degree of national recognition it was not economically viable. The top title sold fewer than 45,000 copies, seven sold 15,000 copies or more, and the balance fewer than 15,000. The average initial printing was 15,000. Returns were less than expected but were nevertheless high, especially from certain of the larger dealers. The cost of sales was as high as 93 per cent of the publisher's net, but averaged about 50 per cent including cost of manufacture, shipping, and royalty. Surely a market of this kind does exist, but a good deal of publishing capital, time for adequate saturation, and more efficient distribution will be needed if it is attempted again in the future.

There are times when books with special retail markets are published. These may include books about postage stamps, sailing, guns, skiing, antique collecting, and other subjects. Publishers often approach these new areas with limited marketing background, without particularly attractive discounts, and with only small volume prospects at best. Not surprisingly, they usually encounter nothing more than mediocre success, often worse.

Until recently trade books and educational books were two completely separate parts of the publishing program with which the writer is personally associated. With the liberalization of school curricula at most levels, more and more trade books are getting on course or are recommended reading. The need for new and varied co-operative marketing techniques is required immediately for this growing special market.

Very few book clubs operate separate branches in Canada. Even when they do, the policy title selection is usually left to the foreign head office. There is one very small Canadian-owned club, but although it performs a service for Canadians and Canadian publishers, it lacks the funds to operate at an effective level. A number of specialized clubs spring up from time to time, but usually they are very small and vanish equally quickly. The books which are used by the major clubs are foreign editions distributed in the Canadian market with little or no recompense to the Canadian publisher-agent. Recently the largest, Book-of-the-Month Club, opened a Canadian office, having recognized that the Canadian market in some respects offers a higher per capita potential than does that of the United States. Consequently, major Canadian books are replacing less suitable American titles in this market as main selections, alternates, dividends, and so on. To date progress has been limited chiefly by the problems of scheduling of these substitutions. The effect is desirable national promotion even if some of the regular retail sales are lost, with



cost of production shared by the Canadian publisher and additional, albeit small, royalties for author and publisher. It is possible that a major Canadian book club will be initiated some time in the future, hopefully the early future.

There are only three or four *bona fide* book mail order houses in the country even though the widely dispersed population and remote hinterland would seem to encourage this form of distribution. These firms tend to promote only a very few books, and only after they have been strongly established. In addition, most publishers use the mails to promote their own specialized books to special lists (professions or trades usually) in the absence of any vigorous attempt by retailers to do so. At best, this tends to result merely in an exchange of dollars. Recent postal rate increases, increasing printing costs, and the need for continually updated mailing lists make this a very speculative method of marketing.

An area of marketing related to mail order is the rewarding bulk sale sometimes negotiated with a corporation or government. The universal acceptance of books as gifts in good taste and the variety of interests that can be served in this way lend such sales great importance to the publisher, and they are likely to grow rather than diminish.

In view of the infinitesimal proportion of Canadian book production actually exported, outsiders are usually quick to suggest that Canadian publishers have been asleep. The lack of success to date may be attributed to many factors, among them:

1. Complex and time-consuming export procedures must be carried out by already short-staffed publishers;
2. Many successful Canadian authors have long ago located separate publishers in the U.K. or U.S., or have placed the marketing of their works abroad directly in the hands of agents, usually foreign;
3. Many literate expatriate Americans living in Canada are discouraged from publishing here because the U.S. "manufacturing clause" effectively prevents Canadian-based publishers from exporting more than 1,500 copies of a book of U.S. authorship into that market;
4. Many Canadian books, including some of the best of them, have mainly regional appeal.

Where he finds it possible to do so without undue effort and expense, the Canadian publisher will sell foreign rights and receive a small advance against royalty, possibly including some share of original production cost, and if he is lucky he will also receive the advantage of a shared print run. Often the Canadian portion of such a run is minor, with the result that the manufacturing is sometimes done outside Canada, even in cases where it might have been done at home if no sale of an edition had taken place. The sale of rights may also occur much after first publication, by which time shared printing is not feasible. This can lead to the bulk sale abroad of Canadian-produced books, but this may seriously reduce an otherwise adequate inventory – at a purchase price often discounted below the normal Canadian net price, sometimes forcing an uneconomical reprinting.

Foreign book exhibits have seldom resulted in overcoming for Canadian publishers the other obstacles that militate against successful development by them of

export markets. Nevertheless, there exists a very interested U.S. institutional market whose first concern is ease of ordering and fulfilment from one consolidated source in the U.S. At least until this facility is provided, American retailers are likely to remain rather indifferent to ordering directly from most Canadian houses. (An exception is the University of Toronto Press, which has established a separate Buffalo branch and exports a major proportion of its publications.)

Some Canadian publishers have representation in Britain but it is apt to be a rather passive relationship. With or without government assistance Canadian publishers should make their product available to the British consumer in the major centres and then look to wider wholesale distribution and institutional business later. To reach buyers in other countries, a manned, representative book exhibit could travel to the major book fairs and library conferences on each continent under the auspices of, or with assistance from the federal government.

Sales of subsidiary rights may be considered gravy by some, but they tend to be more important to longer-established publishing houses, just as they also are dependent on the time spent in developing them. They are usually negotiated at a senior marketing level and may include serial rights (permission to excerpt a portion of a book for magazine or newspaper use), movie rights, anthology and special edition rights, reprint rights, and foreign rights. The person negotiating can spend a good deal of time, energy, and money before making a sale.

#### PROBLEM AREAS

Notwithstanding some measures of success in many areas, trade book marketing in Canada poses many unsolved problems, some of them serious. Some of these relate to unfair competition or ineffectual laws which erode the available market and weaken the publishing fabric. The following are seven problems which affect Canadian trade publishers.

First, there are increasing numbers of retailers, and several library systems and perhaps a few jobbers, who purchase both Canadian copyrighted material and exclusive agency books "around" the legal Canadian publisher and thereby deprive him of the sale to his own market which he must have to defray his incurred costs of cataloguing, warehousing, financing, promoting, selling, and shipping the titles in question. Familiarity with foreign list prices and publication dates (widely publicized in the international media), and the relative freedom of foreign wholesalers to operate in highly competitive fashion in the Canadian market, entices more and more customers to "buy around." Such behaviour, once the exception, is now observed more and more generally. For example,

A best-selling Canadian book at \$12.50 suddenly is replaced by a cheaply produced foreign edition remaindered abroad and retailed in Canada at about one-quarter the correct price. Neither publisher nor author receive any recompense.

The Canadian publisher has promoted and stocked the cloth edition of a Canadian copyrighted book at a modest price – accessible to the consumer and profitable to the Canadian publisher, author, and printer. Libraries bring in a pirated foreign imprint in paper or cloth binding. The taxpayers' money is spent out of the country, the publisher and printer lose their income, and the author may or may not lose his royalty.

Second, the recent efficient photocopying processes located in libraries, shopping malls, schools, and offices (including federal post offices!) provide an enticing means of “stealing” the rights of an author or publisher, granted that they can also be used legally to expedite private research. The culprit too often represents an educational body, insisting that “the end justifies the means,” and arguing that the placing of information in the hands of students is all that really counts. It is probably true that few complete books are copied in this way but sections, illustrations, tables, and documents are certainly copied in wholesale quantities without a cent returning to the author or publisher, and without an additional copy of the work being purchased. A publisher might, let us say, issue five hundred copies of a learned work for world consumption at \$40.00 per copy; this would be a reasonable marketing project, but photocopying in this very small and select marketplace could reduce the sale to two hundred copies or fewer. The same principle applies, if less visibly, to other publishing areas.

Third, library circulation as part of our everyday life provides a most valuable information service and creates a major source of income for publishers. However, there are those who feel that the wider the circulation through libraries, the more potential sales revenue is diverted from booksellers, authors, publishers, and printers.

Fourth, Canadian tariff inequities and confusions make it quite possible for situations such as the following to occur:

A Canadian publisher-agent of children's imported books, who regularly brings in new titles which he catalogues, promotes, sells and distributes before publication date, pays 10 per cent duty because he is unable to obtain an exemption certificate, but his American branch office jobber competitor, who waits to catalogue and order the same books until after educational exemptions are arranged after publication, pays no duty.

English-language books are discriminated against by tariff while French and foreign books are exempt.

Fifth, special protective provincial legislation may have a detrimental effect on the publishing industry at large. For instance, the recent Booksellers' Accreditation Act in Quebec requires sweeping regional marketing changes, which if ignored must result in a loss of market and if accepted must lead to some degree of further hardship to the publishing community, at least outside Quebec.

Sixth, there is a great need for some central clearing house for all types of industry information. At the moment a great diversity of people needs to know such things as original publication dates, copyright holders, author information, what



titles are currently in print and if not when they will be reprinted and in what edition, foreign rights and translations, corresponding foreign titles, and who really does distribute a book reported NCR (No Canadian Rights).

The seventh, and last, of these special problems, involves cost of transportation. Those to Toronto are a handicap to publishing in this country, but not a major one. However, the costs of shipping in relatively small quantities to far-flung parts of Canada are a great burden to the publisher and his customers. Often the shipping costs of this low-volume, heavy, fragile, often expensive, low-profit product are quite severe. The problem is exaggerated even more when sudden news coverage demands immediate distribution by air.

#### COMMUNICATIONS AND INVENTORY

Communications are essential to good marketing in all fields, but particularly so in publishing, which is the business of communication. A problem arises in this industry because of the sheer volume of information to be digested. The Canadian Book Publishers' Council is the most centralized and official channel for communicating with the industry and related industries, with governments and foreign countries. It administers a substantial program of international, national, and provincial book exhibits throughout the year; it helped to create *Canadian Books in Print*; it arranges industry seminars and festivals; and it carries on a dialogue with approximately two dozen related associations. Aside from regular business exchanges with member publishers it also provides statistics and assistance for the preparation of such reports as the *Canadian Book Industry, Promotion and Response*, and its recent brief to the Royal Commission on Book Publishing.

Most retailers communicate through the Canadian Booksellers' Association and through their "Confidential Bulletin," with publishers at their annual conference, and at publisher-bookseller trade relations meetings. The individual publishers announce their imported product in Bowker's *Books in Print*, the *British Bookseller*, the *American Publishers' Weekly*, and in sundry review media. Canadian books are announced in catalogues, newsletters, through *Quill and Quire* and Canadian review media. In addition, publishers provide special brochures, the seasonal *Books for Everybody*, *Books in Canada*, and the new *Canadian Basic Books* for the consumer.

Public libraries use their own professional journals such as the U.S. *Library Journal* and *Canadian Library*, and most of the material produced by publishers. There is a joint publisher-librarian relations committee, and the major national and provincial library associations meet with publishers at seminars and annual conferences and at organized regional book exhibits. School libraries may make use of any and all existing industry material plus their own interdepartmental letters and lists, plus such review vehicles as *Monday Morning* and *Index*. They are becoming more active in setting up provincial and regional book displays.

How are mistakes in inventory made and how is the loss recouped? Obviously the fast efficient disposition of inventory is critical to any profit-oriented publisher. Problems in this area arise for a number of reasons, some of which might be avoided, and some of which are due to the speculative nature of the business. Among them are the following:

An imported book may not sell well because the Canadian publisher misjudged the market, or the book did not receive adequate promotion, or was not as originally described, or was received too late for the peak market. Defective books are usually adjusted to the publisher's satisfaction, but other mistakes may rarely be referred to the source and are usually written down after a year and "remaindered" for the best price. Today's best-sellers can be completely unsalable tomorrow at any price.

It is awkward, if not practicably impossible, always to claim for books damaged by handling and in transit. Many of these are accumulated and must be remaindered from time to time.

There are frequent high inventories which lead publishers to dispose of surplus overstock at temporarily reduced prices.

Books published in Canada involve proportionately larger quantities, have generally longer life expectancies, and encounter larger inventory problems when errors occur. Seldom does a publisher wish to see his book out of print. A frequent cause of inventory problems is the successful first printing that sells out relatively, quickly and forces the publisher to reprint. Corrections to text and normal production delays may cause him to lose the unsatisfied market, if he does not indeed misjudge its continuing potential altogether. He is also hampered in the disposing of such mistakes by royalty stipulations which sometimes set a floor on the selling price during the early period of a book's life. However, there is a slowly improving demand for remaindered books and prices paid are slowly increasing also.

## DISTRIBUTION

Institutional librarians often say that a publisher who delivers a minimum of seventy per cent of the titles ordered in his initial shipment is offering relatively adequate service. However, many provide eighty per cent and a few better than that. Agency service is affected by the publisher's financial ability to carry inventory for an extended period; the efficiency of his stockkeeping and purchasing departments; the service from his foreign principals; the efficiency of his billing and shipping departments (the best agents maintain large staffs to offer manual processing and same-day shipping, the majority offer considerably slower service than this through computerized systems); an often undependable postal service; and substantial shipping times to either coast (nine days by transport from Toronto to Vancouver and twelve days to St. John's).

Most publishers do all their distribution from Toronto with some slight assistance for the institutional market in distant areas from library wholesalers.

Some carry limited inventories in depositories in the West, but this is costly and only partly effective at best. Some have regional representatives who perform a combination sales, public relations, promotion, editorial, and sometimes limited warehousing service. Some share sales representatives. Some offer their retail customers shared air costs to have books available far from Toronto in peak selling seasons. In all, the more aggressive publishers do have schemes to solve, at least partly, the time/distance/cost problem of distributing books across 4,500 miles. Still there is strong criticism over the lack of easy availability of books in many areas.

Normally sales representation consists of twice-yearly trips through the Maritimes and the West, and more frequent contact through additional trips or resident representation in Ontario and Quebec. The more aggressive companies have a resident person in Vancouver and Winnipeg and possibly in the Maritimes, and at least one has a representative in each major city in the West. By and large these secondary centres can support a person only on a part-time basis or shared with other publishers. The good trade salesman need not be a literary critic or English specialist, but frequently he has a general knowledge and a familiarity with his authors and books equalled by few others. He travels most of the year across huge territories for a week to six weeks at a time, and is prepared to work fourteen hours a day and weekends if business demands it. He calls on authors; he sells to all types of librarians, wholesalers and retailers, who are often short of time; he arranges promotion and he fills sales quotas; he answers service complaints; he carries heavy sample cases; he is informed about credit problems; he usually attends two or more lengthy sales conferences at the home office each year and makes frequent market reports. He must be informed, enthusiastic, honest, and persistent, for his is a speculative product, considered a luxury by many, and one which can be returned if unsold. For this he receives a modest salary or commission and expenses.

The success of many books is closely related to current trends of interest. Retail book budgets are relatively small (department store book departments seem relatively unimportant compared to those dealing with other merchandise, and have small and rigidly controlled budgets) and there is great competition from all publishers selling many books for a portion of that budget or for limited counter space. For all these reasons, the buyer is increasingly apt to select only guaranteed winners and to leave more speculative books to special orders.

It is customary for Toronto-based publishers to pay for local delivery but to deal elsewhere outside the city on an f.o.b. Toronto basis. Since shipping costs may add four to five per cent to the cost of books arriving in Vancouver, the latter customers understandably feel this is unjustified favouritism. Delivery costs in Toronto may well become the responsibility of the bookseller as time passes.

Trade sales representatives normally call on major public libraries, provincial school library co-ordinators, legislative and college librarians, library wholesalers,



and accessible local libraries in the major centres. In addition, they take part in regional and provincial book displays. Some publishers have mobile units calling on schools quite successfully; others have salesmen calling on schools; but, generally, publishers have barely penetrated the school library field and are rather uncertain about the best way to go about it. As large as the national institutional book budget is, there is an astounding lack of communication, information, and understanding regarding the problems of librarians on the one hand and of publishers on the other. After receiving publishers' catalogues, brochures, and announcements, and after the regular calls by the representative, the library may elect to place an order at once or later with the same representative, or order from a local or other Canadian wholesaler, or in a very few instances buy from a bookseller, or even buy the Canadian publisher's book from a foreign source. Frequently a librarian mistrusts the information provided by a salesman, considering it possibly inaccurate, incomplete, or on occasion too enthusiastic. So she waits to read U.S. and U.K. review media, as well perhaps as the limited Canadian review media, before ordering. School librarians frequently await the selection recommendations and approved lists circulated by provincial co-ordinators. Problems exist as to how to place book samples in the hands of these generally overworked persons; how to provide viewing or display samples of *all* books in the hands of *all* reviewers on an economic basis; how to have all books at least noticed and most reviewed fairly soon after publication; and how truly Canadian books, not covered by the U.S. or U.K. media, can secure quick and effective mention from respected Canadian reviewers.

It has been suggested that some form (either for new and basic books only or for all books) of a co-operative book depository be organized in the far western and eastern provinces. This or some similar scheme should be seriously considered to improve delivery service in these areas if bookstores as well as libraries are to continue to support the Toronto publishing establishment.

Merchandise books (children's picture books and series books, adult illustrated guides and handbooks) are present to a lesser degree in the lines of several regular publishers; the bulk of the business is handled by two or three specialist merchandise publishers. These books (some have difficulty maintaining this definition since they lack text and proper binding) need not wait to be reviewed, but depend on their list price, bulk discount structure, attractive appearance, and point-of-purchase aids (stands, etc.) for success. They depend largely on retail success and usually the sales presentation for them revolves primarily around potential profit per square foot of display space that they can provide. Continued retail success depends on regular detailing service by the publisher and stock continuity. Merchandise publishers are apt to be the most successful in this field because they are completely geared to it, whereas the ordinary publisher lacks adequate detailing personnel to service bookstores, department stores, toy, variety, and stationery stores, and mail

order houses. Approached properly and energetically, this can be a profitable form of publishing. It is unfortunate that more book merchandise does not have a Canadian theme, is not written by Canadians, or produced in Canada. Lack of vast print runs may be a major handicap. If early trends in the United States are an indication of future changes in Canada, it is likely that in a new merchandising format, books on many popular subjects will become a major part of non-food merchandise in supermarkets. The market is immense.

#### PROMOTION, ADVERTISING AND PUBLICITY

Much has been said in Canada recently about the ineffectiveness of book promotion. Some of this criticism may be valid, but the overwhelming number of books, the limited media, and the limited number of publishers and resources must be taken into full account as well.

Assuming that Canadian publishers budget five to eight per cent of their anticipated net sales to pay for total promotion, including fixed expenses such as salaries, catalogues, and administrative overhead, as well as space advertising, publicity tours, direct mail, entertainment, review books, and point of sale materials – and that they price their books accordingly – then a potential best-selling novel priced at \$6.00 with a projected volume of 7,500 copies would have a promotional budget of approximately \$2,000. Frequently the cost structure of the smaller independent houses permits even less for promotional outlay. It is easy to see that this amount of money will not go very far. Even less money is assigned for imported books, since much of the promotion has already been done in the country of origin. Of course none of this takes into account the free publicity given by the various media to some titles, the more fortunate of which receive coverage far beyond the limits of the publisher's budget.

The nature of each book decrees the promotional approach to be followed but generally speaking some or all of the following techniques are used:

1. Cataloguing is a form of announcement common to all publishers, whether they use foreign catalogues with minor changes overprinted, or combined import/Canadian catalogues, or exclusively Canadian catalogues, or altered versions of foreign catalogues. The catalogue is intended as all things for all people, and as such fails in some respects. It must impart sales enthusiasm and marketing importance to booksellers; it should contain objective description and detailed physical description for librarians; it should be accurate and suggest relative importance and newsworthiness to the media; and it should be something else again for the individual consumer. Catalogues should be distributed early, but this is difficult because the foreign original may be quite late arriving and information describing new Canadian books may still be quite vague by printing deadline. It has been suggested that catalogues be uniform in size, appearance, and layout. But how then could a publisher create special interest in his own unique creations, and avoid his

one great fear – that of being ignored by booksellers, reviewers, and librarians? Included with catalogues are periodic special lists, brochures, and checklists intended for the consumer as well as the bookseller and librarian.

2. Generally, from 24 to 250 review copies are sent out across the country by the publisher, the number depending on the importance of the book. Despite the complaints from reviewers that this critically important step in the promotional procedures is handled too casually, that the information is often inaccurate, that copies are frequently sent to the wrong person, and too late for deadlines, the planning of the distribution of review copies does take top priority, at least with the larger publishers. Even so, many books, if noticed at all, are mentioned briefly only, weeks or months after publication. Newspaper reviews are limited by space and the vast numbers to be reviewed, and only major foreign and Canadian titles receive anything like immediate and adequate coverage. Moreover, unlike the book reviewer or critic in Britain and Europe who is part of an established literary tradition, the Canadian book editor is almost invariably a member of another department of the newspaper or periodical, and while he is often a literary specialist he rarely if ever earns his living by practising literary criticism alone. It has been said that review space is related directly to advertising space, that books are reviewed discriminately, that the quality of criticism is poor – often to the point of justifying the question whether the reviewer has actually read the book. But any mention is better than none and a major review (good or bad) can create a noticeable response in the bookstores.

There is only one regularly scheduled national radio (CBC) book review program, "Arts in Review;" there are in addition a few other local reviews from time to time. The quality of radio reviews may range from good to very good, but the direct effect on sales seems limited although it is, frankly, impossible to gauge consumer response through bookstores. Television can be effective as a review medium if handled properly for both audio and visual presentation, but this happens too rarely.

By far the most interesting presentation in the electronic media is built on the book or author that provokes a controversial news story; publishers would do well to point up such possibilities more often in their releases. Very close behind in effectiveness is the television interview or "hot line" program based often on the author's personality or views. Campus papers and small literary magazines can be valuable to a specialized audience, but are not much help when it comes to large commercial books.

Finally, among review media, there is a need for a national best-seller list which is current, above reproach, takes regional preferences into account, is revised frequently, and ignores national origin. Perhaps such a list could be part of a vehicle for Canadian book reviews, literary events, industry news, announcements, etc., to compare with the *New York Times Book Review*.



3. Every trade publisher sends out direct mail to his various markets. Since it costs a minimum of twelve cents to get even the simplest piece into the mails it isn't hard to see how expensive mailings in volume become. At the same time the reviewers, booksellers, and librarians find the volume of such promotional material inhibiting, and therefore the exercise is often futile. Publishers would be well advised to send out fewer pieces, but to design those they do use with more imagination.

4. Space advertising forms a substantial but shrinking part of most budgets. It is done more to announce the book to the consumer and to impress an author than from expectation of a related increase in sales. Frequently such advertising is arranged in co-operation with a bookstore or stores, and often takes the form of a group ad. With space rates at their present high levels, space advertising cannot continue as a major form of book promotion for long.

5. Press conferences and receptions are becoming an increasingly valuable promotional technique when the subject or the author is truly newsworthy. The response can be much greater than the expense involved. Even more in the field of public relations is the bookseller party where the publisher reviews and refreshes the current list of books for the benefit of those who will actually sell them.

6. Public relations have in the past been handled on a sporadic basis, usually by a member of the publisher's staff holding some other position. Among the larger firms in recent years this has, however, become a full-time job. Duties usually involve the flow of institutional and policy information to and from the publisher and responsibility for direct author publicity. A surprising number of foreign authors are in Canada deliberately or coincidentally each year, and of course native authors are numerous. Some publishers prefer to restrict author exposure to tours of major cities, while at least one large Canadian publisher supports the idea of national publicity tours as being vital to national success. The latter is an expensive form of promotion, but it is often possible to defray the costs in some way. Aside from the fact that such junkets result in substantial sales, they do much to establish author popularity and help break down cultural regionalism. Because of the events of the last two years it has been suggested that the publishing industry should consider a major national public relations scheme of its own.

7. Promotion departments also produce large amounts of point-of-sale material for use at the retail level, including posters and streamers, stickers, buttons, and bookmarks. Much money is sometimes spent in this way, but it is difficult to determine its effectiveness.

8. Television and radio advertising is just too expensive on a large scale, although "spots" and co-operative schemes have had limited success.

9. One of the most effective ways to reach the person in the retail store who makes the buying decisions and consumer recommendations is to give him a complimentary reading copy. What could be more honest, direct, and inexpensive?

But obviously if this were done too often, its effectiveness as a technique would be impaired.

10. There remain other forms of advertising, such as billboards and bus placards, which are relatively expensive and call for lengthy contracts, and which are untried in the field of book promotion. I expect many of these will be experimented with in future.

Much of what has been said above applies to medium and large trade publishers. For the smaller ones who have no separate promotion department or experienced staff, and meagre budgets, it is very difficult to mount and sustain adequate sales promotion programs. In the case of many members of the Independent Publishers' Association, their initial publishing fervour, nationalistic zeal, and outspokenness have received considerable free publicity and their books have been reviewed fairly readily. However, with the passage of time they have found it increasingly difficult to achieve adequate promotion and publicity. Not only may their products be insufficiently well known in the less sophisticated parts of the country, but parts of their immediate market do not even know of their existence. They must learn to promote collectively, with some form of a subsidy if need be, if they are to make their books known in the future.

It is probably fair to say that trade publishers at their worst are ill prepared, inefficient, and even reticent and not a little complacent when it comes to telling the world about their products. At their best they show imagination (at least one Canadian house has long ago devised a system of soliciting and delivering orders to any part of the country right up to Christmas), resourcefulness (the majority of indigenous Canadian publishers are successful in maintaining a continuity of best-seller stock across 4,500 miles for periods of up to three or four months) and aggressiveness (the 150,000 copies of *The Comfortable Pew* sold to a Canadian market of 15,000,000 in four months may be compared to an imaginary sale of over two million copies of a similar American title) seldom equalled in publishing in the U.S. or U.K.

#### MARKETING PERSONNEL

For several decades the selling side of trade book publishing has been looked upon as a relatively comfortable career for respectable young people with average ability and average educational attainment, usually in the arts, and often with some family connection. Training was the old "start at the bottom rung" system. There has never been any organized program at any level for training marketing personnel aside from the occasional seminar or university extension course, necessarily rather elementary.

Much promotion for American books originates in the head office, with the result that purely agency houses rarely have a large promotion department if they

have one at all. Only those that have substantial indigenous publishing programs have departments that can mount aggressive programs of promotion, advertising, and publicity. There is no recognized publishers' placement service, perhaps unfortunately.

The result has been a traditional emphasis on personal and social contact in the market place, rather than a keenly aggressive and informed approach. There seems to be too little long-range planning, and perhaps not enough innovation in techniques and procedures. Most companies operate now to too great a degree as they did ten years ago.

Salaries tend to be slightly behind Canadian industry at large and well behind salaries for similar positions in the United States. A few large foreign subsidiaries offer attractive employee benefits but these are the exception. Marketing personnel may have smaller volume of business to account for than their U.S. counterparts but their responsibilities are probably wider, for the Canadian market is geographically huge, profit margins are slight, and the number of staff small.

It seems that improved methods of recruitment, more extensive on-the-job training, greater familiarization with both market and product, and some kind of industry placement service would tend to upgrade marketing personnel and greatly improve their acceptance and effectiveness.

DAVID MCGILL was for three years assistant manager of the main book department of the T. Eaton Company, then one of the largest trade book outlets in Canada. In 1963 he joined McClelland and Stewart Limited and became in succession sales representative, trade sales manager, trade division manager, and vice-president. His responsibilities have included the marketing of some one hundred original Canadian trade titles and six hundred original American trade titles per year.



# Trade Bookstores in Canada

JUNE WHITTEKER

Looking into the business of trade bookselling in Canada is not unlike investigating the causes and progress of wars throughout history; conflict has succeeded conflict until there should logically be no one left to fight. In the decades since the end of the first world war, the Canadian book trade has engaged in internecine quarrels over – among other things – returns, trade discounts, book clubs, price cutting, textbook sales, the buying habits and other faults of librarians, and the incursion into the trade of wholesalers and jobbers on a grand scale. To make matters more difficult, no member of any branch of the book trade has ever felt it necessary to confide any but the most meagre details of his operation to anyone else.

In the past forty-odd years the bookselling industry has gone through a series of metamorphoses – from stationery dealers who carried books, to bookstores with stationery and rental-library sidelines, through a decline in the size and importance of department store book sections, to the rise of cut-price bargain establishments, and to rack-selling of mass American paperbacks, a development that has threatened to submerge the lot. Bookstores have opened in optimism and closed in disillusionment and financial loss, to be replaced in turn by others. The organization now known as the Canadian Booksellers Association (CBA) has come and gone and come again. Through all these many mutations, history has seemed to be telling us that if in unity there is strength, that hearty individualist the bookseller should be failing fast.

But history, of course, must never be taken too seriously. The end of a war does not necessarily weaken the participants; war's end often brings new vigour. Booksellers, like Dryden's Johnnie Armstrong, may lay them down for to bleed a while, but they seem always to rise and fight again.

The continuous written history of bookselling in Canada begins in 1935, when *Quill & Quire* first started publication. At that time the magazine was principally

concerned with the stationery business, and the book trade received much less space in the early volumes. Gradually, as the second world war drew to a close, the positions reversed, and finally information about stationery dealers and their association was dropped altogether. For the past twenty years, book publishing and distribution has been the magazine's main concern.

The October 1941 issue of *Quill & Quire*, which was noted in those days for its pithy editorial comment, reported that "there are few thinking bookmen in Canada who are satisfied with the book business as a whole. The plain simple statement of fact is that during the past 20 years the number of bookstores in Canada has steadily declined. Today there are but a scant 50 or so of the 'old guard' left, and these would be the first to admit that they have not much longer to carry on."

In December 1960, a Montreal bookseller was quoted: "... publishers and booksellers have very little in common (and) booksellers must accept as a reality that three-quarters of the publishers' business is done outside of the bookshops."

In June 1969, during a panel discussion at the CBA's annual meeting, a professor of English at McMaster University, when asked what he thought of booksellers, said that after considering it for some time, he decided he didn't think anything of booksellers. "They are a bland, uninteresting lot who make no impact on Canadian life," he said. He compared Canadian booksellers to those in Nigeria where "books are the next important thing to food"; he insisted that bookstores are essential, and that they "should be subsidized so that they can perform well the function they should."

This kind of pessimistic utterance about Canadian bookselling has been made, with variations, ever since the booksellers started talking to one another. By rights it should have discouraged newcomers from entering the field, and persuaded experienced members of the trade to get out. But at the present time there are more booksellers than ever before in Canada, and regular membership in the CBA is at an all-time high of 178. According to the most recent mailing lists, there are 874 booksellers in Canada, not including drug and variety stores, 127 of them university and college stores.

#### CANADIAN BOOKSELLERS ASSOCIATION

Before the establishment of the Canadian Retail Booksellers Association in January 1952, booksellers had, for several years, been part of a trade-wide organization called the Association of Canadian Bookmen. This body had been "revived and reorganized" in 1935 to include the Canadian Booksellers and Stationery Association, the Canadian Authors Association, book publishers, librarians, "and all persons and kindred organizations interested in good books." Its opening meeting, on 22 February 1936, attracted nearly two thousand persons, and during its first two months it "confined its activities largely to a membership drive in Toronto and Old Ontario," according to *Quill & Quire*. It offered membership to individuals

(that is, the public) as well as the trade, and its services were planned to benefit "not only the Canadian book-reader but the Canadian bookseller as well."

An important function was the establishment of Book Tokens, or gift certificates for books, supplied by the Association for a small fee to all member bookstores. (Book Tokens are one of the facets of the trade that flourished for a number of years and then died away. Old-timers hint that a certain lack of organizational ability and a few in-fights could have been responsible.)

The ACB as a tool for booksellers was supported by one of its founding members, Toronto bookseller William Tyrrell, in an article in the *Quill & Quire* 1936 spring catalogue number. "Whilst I know that as a result of past experiences there is a good deal of scepticism in the mind of retail booksellers as to the usefulness of any association to help them in their business," he wrote, "nevertheless I want to remove at once, if I can, any distrust concerning the ACB . . . I sincerely believe that booksellers who remain outside of, or are indifferent to the work of the ACB are losing a tide in their affairs, which will bring success to those who take it." Tyrrell enumerated various benefits that would accrue to bookseller-members: receipt of reliable and unbiased information through frequent book lists and bulletins; book tokens; and operations that "would have the same effect as national advertising" in arousing a wider desire for books.

By the late forties, however, Canadian booksellers had begun to think about an organization of their own. They looked enviously at the progress being made by the American Booksellers Association, whose golden jubilee in 1950 was fully covered in the Canadian book trade magazine. During 1950, also, the college book stores formed their own group, the Canadian Association of College Stores, primarily to secure affiliation with the National Association of College Stores in the United States. This special-interest body was short-lived; it disbanded in May 1952 soon after the formation of the Canadian Retail Booksellers Association, with which the college stores allied themselves.

The first CRBA convention, held in April 1952, attracted more than fifty delegates representing thirty-five retail outlets from the Maritimes to the West Coast. Commented one member: "This is the first time since June 1935 that Canadian booksellers have met as a group." By June 1953 there were ninety-six members.

The title originally chosen for the new group was the one now in use – Canadian Booksellers Association – but during the process of incorporation this name was questioned by the Secretary of State's Department because of the similarity of initials and apparent functions with the ACB. The latter body was by 1952 defunct and unconnected with the new association; but its assent to the charter was required, and it was given on condition that the word "retail" appear in the title. It was not until the annual meeting in 1959 that the CRBA became officially the CBA, which now has a regular membership of 110 trade stores (this figure includes branches of chains as individual members) and 68 college and university stores,



plus 94 associate members, most of them publishers. Fees are on a sliding scale, depending on gross receipts and length of time in business.

Among the CBA's earlier accomplishments was a course in bookselling in 1962 that attracted nearly one hundred students. (Some members feel it is time another was planned. In Britain and on the European Continent, formal training is provided would-be booksellers.) More recently, the trade stores committee produced for the 1971 annual meeting a chart of essential data on the returns policies of publishers.

In recent years the annual meeting of the CBA, a three-day affair held each year in a different city, has become routine enough to bring criticism from some members. Nevertheless membership is growing, attracted by the advantages of a monthly bulletin, quick action when the trade as a whole is threatened, and the watchfulness of the executive committee. Discussions are going ahead on a modification of the fee structure, and a new plan for annual meeting locations – Toronto every second year, other cities alternating in off-years – met with little opposition when it was proposed.

#### SOME AREAS OF CONFLICT

##### *Circumventing the agent*

Canada holds a unique place in the book world, with access to more books published in the English language than any other country – the vast majority of them coming from Britain and the United States. The abundance of titles and the preponderance of foreign publications present certain problems to the bookseller who can stock only a fraction of what is available.

Imported books are handled in one of two ways: through the Canadian branch of an American or British publishing company, or through a Canadian publisher acting as agent for a foreign firm, usually on an exclusive basis. The Canadian publisher-agents are not legally protected, however, against other methods of buying, and, particularly in recent years the practice of "buying around" has led to more than one prophecy of the death of the agency system. "Buying around" is a term meaning the customer – bookseller or librarian – has purchased directly from the originating publisher or perhaps from a bookseller in the originating publisher's country, rather than from the Canadian agent, in order to get lower prices or better service. The foreign publisher (the agent's principal) has undertaken to refer all such orders he receives to the agent, but in fact this is hard for either party to police entirely, and becomes impossible to control when third parties (book wholesalers) enter the picture.

During the past decade or so, a number of American wholesalers and jobbers, and a few Canadian firms, have succeeded in taking away from the agencies a large amount of the library business, principally school requirements. A number of

booksellers also have succumbed to the temptation offered by the wholesaler, who can handle a long list of requirements with one invoice, and buys in volume at attractive prices direct from the publishing houses.

### *Library purchases*

Methods of filling the enormous demands of school, college, and public libraries differ in different parts of the world. To the Canadian bookseller it is something of a disaster that this country did not, as the trade developed, copy the system used in England, where librarians place their orders for books through booksellers. Here libraries can buy directly from the publisher at a considerable discount. It was Canada's publisher-agents who captured the library business in the early days, and it is they who now are hardest hit by the emergence and growth of wholesale suppliers in this same market.

In this connection, the Province of Quebec has recently adopted sweeping new regulations for its book industry, the major part of which is in the French language. Among the new regulations is the principle that all government-subsidized agencies must buy their books from bookstores approved by the Department of Cultural Affairs. (At the same time, bookstores and publishers have been ordered to adhere to a "Canadian content" regulation.) Since libraries are among the most common of "government-subsidized agencies" and bookstores are assuredly eager to be "approved," the legislation, provided it can be enforced, offers Quebec booksellers a guaranteed market. It is, however, much too early to guess at the law's effectiveness. In any case some knowledgeable people in the English-language book trade believe it would be impossible, even if it were completely desirable, for the rest of Canada to copy Quebec's move.

The importance of the library market is indicated in the recent Ernst & Ernst report, which shows libraries accounting for eighteen per cent, or some \$40 million, of the \$222 million total worth of books consumed each year, an amount equal to that purchased by wholesalers and retailers combined. (Of the total figure, forty per cent, or \$88.8 million, is accounted for by purchases of school agencies, a proportion related to the more than two-to-one ratio of textbook to trade book publishing in Canada. University and college bookstores buy \$33.4 million, or fifteen per cent, while direct mail and book club purchases from publishers and publisher-agents are in the neighbourhood of \$17.6 million, or eight per cent, with miscellaneous sources making up the balance.)

### *Trade Discounts*

One of the most vigorous arguments ever conducted between booksellers and publishers erupted in the pages of *Quill & Quire* in the late 1940s. It concerned discounts, the percentage that the publisher knocks off the list price of a title when selling it to a bookseller, and on which the bookseller depends to meet expenses

and make a profit. There is no such thing as a “wholesale” price in books, only discounts. In the post-war years, discounts ran from about 20 per cent on orders of a dozen copies (with some lower, and some higher and more generous in their quantity requirements) to about  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent, but there was no uniformity. (There is little now, but the rate is considerably higher and more in line with the efforts of the bookseller to operate his business on a profitable basis.) In 1947 leading eastern Canadian booksellers met and appointed a committee whose job it was to obtain a basic 40 per cent discount throughout the trade. In the June 1949 issue of *Quill & Quire*, one of the most influential of that committee’s members, Roy Britnell, wrote what can only be described as a threatening – or blackmailing – article addressed directly to the publishers. Its appearance, and the work of the committee, combined with other factors such as stern editorial comment in the book trade magazine, succeeded. The normal discount now is 40 per cent on trade books.

Textbooks – referred to as “short discount” books – have a basic discount of only 20 per cent. They are sold in largest volume directly by the publisher or agent to school boards, departments of education, and other agencies. (The variations from province to province, school district to school district, are so great that even the Canadian Education Association has no way of knowing how textbooks are assigned, rented, or sold to students across the country. The association is considering a survey to find out. Only publishers of educational books with Canada-wide distribution are fully conversant with the buying habits of all the country’s educational systems.)

When the provinces began providing books without charge to students at secondary and high school level a few years ago, many local booksellers expected to be seriously affected. In cases where the source of supply during the few weeks of concentrated buying was the neighbourhood dairy or grocery store, there was some hardship, but in general bookstores found the loss of this business more of a relief than anything else. The text business had required them to carry an enormous stock for a short time (one bookstore in a small Ontario city had four hundred titles in grade 13 alone), and returning unsold copies to the publishers was a difficult, sometimes impossible, privilege. Too, there was little if any profit involved, since the price of short-discount books is kept down for the benefit of the public, the principle being that the bookseller does not have to “sell” assigned texts – he merely has to stock them and watch them melt away from his shelves.

### *Returns*

The matter of returns – sending back to the supplying publisher or agent such copies as cannot be disposed of in the store – has not reached uniformity by any means. However, by constantly harping on the subject, the trade section of the Canadian Booksellers Association has managed to obtain laid-down policies from the majority of publishers and agents, even though, as short a time ago as June



1971, the situation was still being referred to as "the returns jungle." Most publishers demand that the bookseller request permission before returning unsold books; many will not accept paperbacks for return credit; and others allow so short a period of time between initial purchase and return that it is really impossible for the seller to return any books at all. The ideal, according to the CBA committee's report, is a spread of at least nine months during which books may be returned, the spread to date from, say, three months after date of purchase to twelve months after. Of the thirty-four publishers whose returns policies were listed in the committee's statement, eleven were a very long way from the ideal. The CBA is working towards correcting this situation.

### *NCRs*

In the jargon of the book trade, NCRs are books to which the publisher-agent who represents the originating publisher does not have Canadian rights. There are a number of reasons, none of which is particularly pertinent here, but the situation caused by those three letters is one of the many conflicts between booksellers and publishers. The frustration felt by a bookseller at a busy time of year, when he is told that a book he has ordered cannot be supplied because of NCR, is one of the strongest points of irritation in the trade. Individual booksellers, and the CBA, are trying to persuade the publisher-agents to extend to them the courtesy – in cases where another local firm has the rights – of so indicating. They feel that the publisher-agent who has to admit, with chagrin in many cases, that he didn't make it with a particular title, could gain a lot of friends for the future if he directed the bookseller to the correct source or otherwise advised him of the status of the book. This is another area in which the CBA is trying for uniformity.

### *Special Orders*

A special order for a book not in stock is a costly thing. It involves considerable expenditure of time and effort, and the return is apt to be low: the book may well have a lower-than-usual discount, and on receipt may have to be mailed postage prepaid to the customer. On the other hand, as a service to the customer, and as an exercise in public relations, the special order is an excellent thing. Britnell's in Toronto, which will take an order for one copy of a mass paperback book and mail it out to the customer, finds an occasional reward in the sale of a forty-dollar art book to the same grateful individual. The store handles up to 150 special orders every day.

Where at one time the special order was a feature of the department store bookshop, the stationery-book store, and anyone else who gloried in the dissemination of information, it is now one of the nuisances of the trade. The average chain store will not special-order for a customer, nor will the department store, except under duress, and in one instance the bookseller has set up a completely separate company

for the purpose. Mel Hurtig, in Edmonton, solved at least a portion of his special-order problem by instituting service by telephone only, handled by a special staff. (Incidentally, Mr. Hurtig has put his small chain of Alberta bookstores up for sale, leading one prominent bookseller to observe that by choosing to stay in publishing and get out of retailing, he has proved he knows where the money is.)

By contrast to the reluctance of trade bookstores to handle special orders, university and college bookstores consider them a duty which they "bend over backwards," in the words of one of them, to perform, even though there is little or no profit to be gained. Most college stores make no extra charge for the service, though some do require a deposit from the student or faculty member at the time the order is placed. "We could not possibly carry in stock every obscure title an academician is likely to want," commented a university store manager. In some areas, college store special-ordering extends to supplies for small libraries. In rare instances, the same service is provided by trade stores.

### *Publishers vis à vis Booksellers*

In the spring of 1969 something of a major explosion shook the book trade when a publishing house, McClelland and Stewart Limited, announced "The World's Biggest Book Sale" and invited the public to come and buy, buy, buy. The sale took place on a Sunday, in the St. Lawrence Market Hall; it was dressed up with as much hoopla as the annual Grey Cup Festival, and attracted tens of thousands of customers. It also alienated quite a few retail booksellers, some of whom actually sent back all their McClelland and Stewart titles. The following year, the Ryerson Press rented Varsity Arena, a large sports establishment, and offered a reported two million dollars worth of books for sale to the public at give-away prices.

These two events were the culmination of troubles within the publishing industry, and specifically within the two publishing firms. (McClelland and Stewart has since received a large loan from the Ontario Government; the Ryerson Press has been sold to McGraw-Hill). They were also, however, a touch on a very raw nerve which was first exposed some fifteen years ago when the same McClelland and Stewart circularized a thousand prospective customers by direct mail, offering them Christmas books apparently without benefit of bookseller. McClelland and Stewart insisted that all they had done was to suggest books as Christmas gifts, and remitted a cheque for \$10.36 to the booksellers' association, this sum being ten per cent of actual sales through what was obviously a much less than successful promotion. Nevertheless, the booksellers jealously described the direct approach as a dangerous practice then, and it is considered in the same light today.

What booksellers would like to see more of is the type of co-operation involved in joint advertising with publishers, much faster service, uniform charges for delivery in all parts of the country (although Toronto booksellers tend not to agree with this), and other endeavours on the part of publishers to make the retailer's task

easier. Co-operative newspaper advertising, a desirable venture it would seem for both parties, has never amounted to much in Canada. Publishers generally want it to be on an equal basis, with each side paying half, while booksellers point to the United States where publishers pay three-quarters of the cost of the advertisement for the privilege of reaping the lower local rate through the bookseller. One or two Canadian publishers do subscribe to this principle, but in general whatever advertising the local bookseller does is pretty much his own affair and at his own expense.

#### THE PRICE OF A GOOD BOOK

There are retail booksellers in Canada who would be very much happier, and certainly wealthier, if the Net Book Agreement of Great Britain were in force here, and it is a rare CBA annual meeting that does not see the subject introduced, even though it is a very unlikely development at this late date.

The Net Book Agreement is an arrangement whereby the publisher states the price at which a book may be sold, and all retailers of whatever type must abide by it. When it was first introduced early in this century, the agreement was criticized as being contrary to the British Restrictive Practices Act, but publishers argued that the intention of that act was to protect the public, that if book prices were subject to competition there would be no stability in the book trade, fewer books would be published, and the interests of the public and authors alike would not be served. After long litigation, the publishers won their case, and the Net Book Agreement remains in force. The result is that in Britain today the public cannot shop around for the lowest-priced copy of a book, unless it is second-hand, and furthermore a publisher may refuse quite legitimately to supply his titles to any bookseller who fails to subscribe to the Net Agreement.

In Canada the reverse is true. The Anti-Resale Price Maintenance Bill, which went into law amid considerable opposition at the end of December 1951, makes it illegal for a manufacturer to refuse to sell his goods to a properly constituted retailer or to require his retail outlets to adhere to a minimum list price for his products. In January 1952, reporting passage of the bill, *Quill & Quire* commented: If ever there was a question upon which any publisher and the majority of his retailers are in whole-hearted agreement, it is upon the value of the minimum resale price as a stabilizing factor for the trade as a whole, and as such, a factor which works in the best interests of the consumer.

The same article went on to detail the steps by which a price war in Toronto had reduced the cost to the customer of a \$2.00 book to 65 cents, and how, in 1951, a major price war had developed between the University of Toronto Bookstore and Coles. The two stores had competed in allowing customer discounts, from 10 per cent up to 20 per cent, dropping back to 5 per cent, until each finally conceded that the struggle was a money-losing proposition all round and returned to sanity and the list price. The Net Book Agreement, the article noted, had come into being some fifty years earlier, because



retailers and publishers alike finally realized that rampant price-cutting spelt suicide for the trade . . . The wise bookseller, then, will endeavor to hold steady to a fair price, which in most cases should be the price "indicated" by the publisher. Even if some large competitor should happen to cut prices on certain titles, or to announce any overall cash discount policy, the bookseller would do well to remember that, by and large, book customers are not bargain-mongers. In the long run, book buyers are interested in obtaining their reading from the store which can offer intelligent service from well-trained personnel, and which pays attention to and anticipates the customer's individual tastes.

In an aside to the then newly-formed Canadian Retail Booksellers Association, the magazine advised:

It is to be hoped that the strong sense of a community of interest which has prompted Canadian booksellers to unite will further operate to preclude their cutting off each other's noses to spite their collective face – even though they are now legally at liberty to do so. One thing is sure: a booksellers association is now more than ever a vital necessity for the welfare of the trade.

Booksellers today tend to agree that their customers fall generally into two categories: those who pick up a best-seller or paperback (neither of which was as readily available to the 1951 customer) wherever it is sold, and those who choose their bookstore as carefully as they would their barber or hairdresser. Variation in price from province to province, even from store to store, is not a major factor in the purchase of a book. There are still some booksellers, few in number, who do grant special discounts to certain privileged customers. There is also one province, British Columbia, where the price of a book is automatically increased by the application of a sales tax. Other provinces where sales tax is charged exempt books, on the theory that knowledge and information should not be taxed. The extra five per cent on the price in British Columbia does not seem to have hampered the sale of reading material, for the province still has one of the highest book purchasing rates in the country.

#### BOOK CLUBS

The emergence and rise of book clubs, beginning seriously in North America with the Book-of-the-Month Club in 1926, was first looked upon by booksellers in much the same way as television was later regarded by the people in radio. Television would kill radio; book clubs would kill bookselling.

The predictions were, of course, false. Radio has grown, if not in stature certainly in popularity, and booksellers have gained from the enormous publicity of the book clubs and the rise to prominence of the best-seller.

In April 1938, in an issue largely devoted to book clubs, *Quill & Quire* told its readers that the book club idea had originated in Germany, where "the book trade received it, and with the methodical nature of the German people, closely defined its place and made it harmonize with other book-selling methods. In England the stand-pat attitude of the trade, though they have viewed it with misapprehension,

has given opportunity to the book clubs for growth. And, they are growing to advantage." That year at least fifteen book clubs, it reported, were operating in England.

The article then turned to the country whose book clubs most affected Canada, the United States, where "the book club idea was seized upon gleefully and attracted immediate attention." Pointing out that "books are generally treated as merchandise in the United States," the article said that the major battle in the book business had been between the book club and the department store. The latter had at first retaliated by offering books at cut prices, to the detriment of smaller stores. In the early thirties, however, under the New Deal, small businesses in the United States had been able to secure protective legislation; publishers and retailers had been forced to maintain book prices; and department stores thereupon organized their own book clubs.

In the issue of the following month, *Quill & Quire* reported that both the American and British book trades had moved decisively toward circumscribing the activities of the book clubs, and commented: "We cannot help but think that these moves, which were excellent ones, have been forced upon both publishers and booksellers by the tide of events which for the most part have been beyond their control . . . the book club has a very definite function in book merchandising but its rightful place should be clearly understood."

Britain solved its problem through the Net Book Agreement which established, in part, that book club editions "shall be subject to the condition that the trade editions shall not be more than 40 per cent above the price of the club edition." Nevertheless, the practice of giving dividends for every so many purchases contributed to money-saving in book purchases by the public.

The magazine concluded that "If the book clubs have proved anything it is that new books with possibilities can be sold at low prices." It suggested that a Canadian publisher take a book showing every prospect of being popular and publish it in a cheap edition.

In 1960 one Canadian eventually did just that. Peter Martin established the Readers' Club of Canada, whose membership reached a high of 3,000 in 1967, dropped to a low of fewer than 2,000 in 1970, and now stands at 2,200 and is rising. Readers' Club of Canada buys its selections, all of which are in every way Canadian books, through the publishers at discounts ranging from 40 to 50 per cent, depending, as Mrs. Peter Martin, who manages the club, points out, "on who the publisher is, and how many copies we order." The monthly "selection" runs to some five hundred to seven hundred copies, with an alternate running to a hundred copies. The club's monthly bulletin lists other available Canadian books, with reviews of some of them.

Readers' Club of Canada offers fiction only about twice a year, and has been told by at least one publisher that its sale of five to six hundred copies makes up

half the total number sold, a commentary on Canadian book sales. Readers' Club is now growing and prospects for the future are better than they have ever been, Mrs. Martin said recently. She and her husband are not at present losing money on it. Many subscribers are people who "don't live near a bookstore, or who live in an area where nobody carries Canadian books."

The effect of book clubs on retail booksellers in 1971 has, on the whole, been advantageous, but where the average publisher will admit that book clubs are very good for his business and suggest it is also so for the retailer, nine booksellers out of ten dislike the whole arrangement and wish it would go away.

#### BOOKSELLING CHAINS

It should be remembered, when discussing the effect on retail bookstores of such developments as book clubs, chain store operations, paperbacks, and other competition, that forty or fifty years ago the bookstore as such was a rare item in this country. The majority were stationery stores, selling books as a less than profitable sideline; the pure bookstore existed in very small numbers. Even today, the "purest" of Canadian bookstores carry at least a line of high-class greeting cards as an extra service to their customers. And all of them now count on paperbacks for a large part of their gross.

In the fall of 1950, therefore, when the first North American branch of W. H. Smith & Son opened in Toronto, there were outraged cries at the unfair encroachment of this major British chain on the poor preserves of Canadian book-selling. In some respects the outcry was justified, but the fact is that the extremely competent W. H. Smith chain, followed later by numbers of Coles and Classic stores, deserved the patronage of the customer. The Toronto store was the 375th in the Smith chain, and the company had learned by experience how to run a profitable bookstore.

In the process of settling down to this new type of book marketing, a few small stores did disappear (in Toronto today, for instance, there are relatively few independents); W. H. Smith bought up at least two Toronto establishments and opened others. Later, as the paperback industry mushroomed, stores the old retailers would never have believed opened in numbers in the larger centres – Classic chain is a notable example.

The chain stores offered, and still perform, a function separate from that of the independent retailer. A Canadian highly placed in the Smith echelon is known to have told one of the latter: "We're not really competition. We're just developing your market." Few of the chains are ready to perform services expected from the independents. They are the supermarkets of the book world, the creators of a new market, one that did not exist in 1935 when the paperback was still in the future and book reading was not a mass preoccupation.



## PAPERBACKS

An introduction to the paperback saga is provided in an item from a New York paper dated 4 September 1937: "Book-buyers here today were surprised to find new books on sale alongside their newspapers and magazines at prices averaging about one-eighth of what they had been accustomed to pay. The books were displayed in gay red steel display cabinets on nearly 500 book and magazine counters throughout greater New York. Of the 11 titles published, six were priced at 25 cents, four at 35 cents [sic]".

The books were a North American extension of Sir Allen Lane's Penguin innovation, and from the day that began, on 30 July 1935, in Britain, there has never been a doubt that the mass market paperback was here to stay. In North America it is available in every corner drug, variety, and cigar store in the country, in self-serve dispensers at airports, and at the best bookstores everywhere. There cannot be a bookseller anywhere who can truthfully say the paperback has hurt his business, even though the current methods of distribution in this country are justifiably under fire. It may even be suggested that without the paperback it is unlikely there would be half the number of booksellers there are in Canada today. While the price is no longer ever twenty-five or thirty-five cents (the least expensive paperbacks are the Canadian-published Harlequin Romances at fifty cents), paperbacks are used by every type of reader from the erudite academic looking for peripheral reading for a course he is planning, to the citizen who until a few years ago had to depend on the pulp magazines for stimulation. The paperback reprint is eagerly awaited by those who feel they cannot afford the original bestseller in hardcover, and the paperback original, now growing more and more common, sells in the hundreds of thousands. More members of the public read than ever before, and more authors reap the benefit of selling the paperback rights. Undoubtedly the paperback explosion had a lot to do with the current prosperity in the bookselling trade, and rare is the bookseller who will deny it.

## AS IT IS

Contrary to the evidence provided by the many differences of opinion through the years, the business of selling books in retail stores in this country has made a steady advance. Perhaps the key word in the history of the trade is "change" rather than "progress," because there is little if any resemblance between today's bookstore and that of forty years ago. There is, in fact, little resemblance even between a listing of such stores by name in the 1930s and one compiled today. For various reasons many of the names familiar to book lovers in the early part of this century have disappeared: to name just two, Burnill's and Tyrrell's, both of Toronto, have long since been absorbed by the W. H. Smith & Son chain.

Another change is evidenced by the vast increase in the number of college and

university bookstores. In some centres the independent retailer has felt the effects of competition from well-financed campus stores whose customers are not restricted to faculty and students.

In 1935, the average Canadian book buyer, if he did not have a favourite "personalized" bookstore, automatically sought out the highly trained clerks in the extensive book sections of Eaton's and Simpson's, The Bay, and Morgan's. In 1971 the first source that is likely to occur to him is the nearest Smith's, Classic, or Coles. Department stores, with a few notable exceptions, have reduced their book sections to self-serve areas whose buyers also negotiate for gloves and jewellery, or some other such combination of unrelated products.

Today's dedicated purchaser of books has learned for himself which retailers adhere to the traditional definition of a bookstore as a place where the public can buy any book it wants; he has also learned whose clerk he has to intimidate to get extra service. He has come to believe that the latter outnumber the former to an unfortunate degree.

What he does not know is the reason behind these changes in the business. He knows only that he now has a choice between the chain or department store, corner variety or cigar store, where he can pick up anything current from the racks, or the specialized establishment where he will be treated with dignity, and served personally by an assistant who understands his needs.

Among these specialized establishments is a new type of store that the experienced customer sees as a return to the finest principles of bookselling. The objective appears to be a blend of independent and chain retailing. An example is the Book Cellar in Toronto. Most of the books on display are paperbacks, but they are quality rather than mass paperbacks, and the many magazines that are also on the shelves have been carefully selected. The customer may elect to roam uncluttered aisles to make his own selections from the latest art books and best-sellers, the paperbacks lined up under category heads in alphabetical order, or the world's most respected magazines, checking out his purchases with the cashier. He has the option, however, of consulting a member of the staff of eager young people who will answer questions accurately and quickly, cheerfully taking requests for special orders.

The new bookseller is ready to track down a particular magazine if he has enough requests for it; he understands a customer's preference for reserved copies each month rather than a subscription; he will obtain back copies of part-works. He stocks Canadian books as they are published, and buys imports as far as possible through the Canadian publisher-agents, ordering direct when necessary. He leans heavily to works on ecology and other current topics, but he also sells more copies of the writings of Tolkien than many of his competitors. He believes in the auto-graphing party, and is spearheading its return to popularity.

The new bookseller is an astute businessman. When paperback and hardcover editions are published simultaneously, he carries only the paperback, which he dis-

plays promptly in sufficient quantity. His reasoning is that it is more efficient to deal in the less expensive edition than to spend time agitating for better returns privileges. He will, of course, special-order the hardcover edition, for special ordering is a way of life to him. If he cannot immediately supply a copy of a mass paperback, he will direct the customer to another store. At the same time, he encourages his most steady customers to open charge accounts. The new bookseller has a motto. It is "Service" – and he and his well-trained staff abide by the dictum that a bookstore is for people.

Today the Canadian bookseller selects his staff according to the type of establishment he is running – a knowledgeable book person for a Britnell's or a Book Cellar, a competent stock girl-cum-cashier for a Coles. He offers each of them a worthwhile career, according to their interests. He cannot offer them a definitive course in bookselling, because at this moment none exists in this country, but he can train his clerks to his way of operating. For some of the information he needs, he can turn to a book published in 1969 by the American Booksellers Association, *A Manual on Bookselling*, and hope that perhaps eventually his own association will produce a similar volume for Canadians.

Today's bookseller believes that he is in a viable business which is bound to improve. His memory may go back to the time when a new hardcover book seemed highly-priced at \$3.95 and he may regret that day's passing, but he will, if he really knows books, rejoice that so much more written information is available in this day of the electronic medium which the doomsayers predicted would spell the end of books.

In 1971 the Canadian bookseller still suffers from one of the longest-standing problems existing in the trade – the unavailability of data about his business. He can refer to computer printouts to know what books are in print all over the world, but he has a hard time finding out whether his margin of profit is greater, smaller, or the same as a comparable shop in another city. The lack of information about book-selling is emphasized by the opening paragraph of a brief report issued in 1965 by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics (now Statistics Canada) showing the operating results of independent book and stationery stores. The paragraph reads: "This is the first operating results survey of book and stationery stores. No survey of either chain or independent retailers of this kind has been made before."

A 1970 study, made by a committee of the Canadian Book Publishers' Council, revealed that retail bookstores, not including college and university, corner variety and drug stores, etc., sell considerably over \$40 million worth of books annually, of which over \$14 million is in textbooks, \$10 million in hardbound trade volumes, and nearly \$16 million in paperbacks.

Late in 1970, *Quill & Quire* conducted a survey about the relations between publisher-agents, from whom booksellers buy the majority of their stock, and the booksellers themselves. Nearly half the booksellers replying complained that they



received poor service from publishers. Booksellers listed as their most consistent problems: (a) having to buy in quantity and sell in single volumes; (b) publishers' limits on credit; (c) insufficient working capital. Few were satisfied with publishers' returns policies. The results (published in *Quill & Quire*, 26 February 1971) may be taken as a fairly comprehensive picture of the trade as it is today – and despite complaints, an optimistic one. To the question, "What in your opinion is the prospect for book sales in 1971?" 62 per cent of the stores reporting said they expected increases, and most of the 128 booksellers who responded said they had improved their profit picture in 1970.

It is safe to predict that the same type of answers would be obtained if a similar survey were to be conducted today. The Canadian bookseller may complain bitterly about poor service from publishers, but he doggedly stays in business. He has had a good many battles over the years, and there are more to come. But he keeps one thing in mind as his profits gradually increase: he has won more than he has lost.

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# *College Bookstores*

F. BEVERLEY MOORE

College stores began to appear on Canadian campuses early in this century (the first in 1901 at the University of Toronto) and quickly developed under the administration of the universities. Texts were an essential part of higher education and even in the early years, when the customary pattern was one course-one textbook, and ordering thus was relatively simple, someone had to take on the job of dealing directly with the publisher, collecting money from the students, and paying the publishers' bills. The professors were on campus to teach, so an administrative department – usually under the jurisdiction of the controller, bursar, or purchasing agent – would start a small bookroom to house the textbooks required for different courses.

Already-established booksellers were reluctant to take on the college textbook trade for several reasons. The number of students who would be buying any title was uncertain. The capital outlay for the inventory required was prohibitive, and the floor area needed to stock so many volumes was beyond the capacity of the privately-owned store. The short discount, twenty per cent off the suggested retail price, offered by publishers on textbooks, was scarcely an incentive. There were exceptions, notably Pooles in Montreal, which served the McGill University community for years; and it was not until 1950 that McGill got into the book business.

As universities and colleges grew, so did their bookrooms, which became stores housing not only required textbooks but also the pens, pencils, notebooks, and papers needed by their customers. Students in science subjects required laboratory instruments, those in engineering courses, drafting instruments; and the variety of merchandise began to expand. More time was required to purchase these goods wisely with an eye to quality and quantity. The universities began to appoint a manager to be responsible for all aspects of the store.

About 1963, especially in the humanities and social science courses, the pattern of

book requirements changed significantly. The one course-one textbook method of authorization began to disappear as faculty members had placed before them a new, broad variety of paperbacks. Reading material for courses was widened, and for the same price students were beginning to buy two or three paperbacks instead of one hardbound text. As this approach developed, and students had more money to spend, instructors expanded course reading lists to some twenty to fifty titles, from which the student could choose as many or as few as he could afford to buy or had time to read.

In 1960 a student bought a book because he was told to do so. Today a student buys a book if he so chooses, and he is very particular about what he chooses. The change is part of the current educational revolution. But it causes considerable difficulty for the store's book buyer, who must estimate just how many copies to purchase of each title on a required book list. How many students will actually take the course? Which titles on the list will those students decide to buy in quantity? Which titles will be less popular? Along with the required book list is a non-required supplemental book list, from which the more industrious student will add to his library. Which ones will he choose? There is no way that a book buyer can read between the covers of the great masses of books available and forecast accurately.

As their stock has grown and their customers' buying habits have changed, college stores have in general evolved from simple book depositories to professional merchandising operations. They must have sufficient space for attractive book displays in order to entice the student to browse and buy at his own discretion.

Two decades ago, the student customer would go to the counter in his university's clerk-serviced store and ask for the textbook which he had been told to buy by his instructor. He did not browse through it and decide whether or not to purchase it, but accepted it without question. Moreover, he paid full price for it without hesitation, and left the store. Probably he would not return until the beginning of the next term. If he had an essay to write, he used the library for reference material.

Today's student walks into a modern self-service bookstore with a list of books suggested by his instructor. He spends some time browsing through several books, comparing not only contents but also prices, which he expects to be discounted to some extent. With the volumes he decides to purchase he may wander through the store and pick up a book for his young sister who is still in primary school, a gardening book for his mother for her birthday, and a greeting card to go with it. He may ask for the book for his mother to be gift-wrapped while he is paying for his purchases. He may reappear in the bookstore the next day or next week to supplement his reading material for an essay that is imminent, for he wants to build his personal library with the many paperbacks now available.

Today's college store, furthermore, has a role to play in the community beyond the campus. Although university librarians usually deal elsewhere, smaller school



libraries, boards of education, nursery schools, schools of nursing, teachers' colleges, private industry, and government libraries find in the college stores willing and able staff, ready to help fill their needs with books already on the shelves or by special orders. Most college stores allow a five to ten per cent discount to recognized libraries. Adults in the store's locality, whether or not they are formally furthering their education, and high school students also visit and find educational books on almost any subject in which they are interested. In the future, the college store more and more will become a reference centre for its area.

#### STAFF AND TRAINING

There are very few pure "book" stores in the college field. The few downtown trade stores which sell only books, and do not sell stationery and related supplies, specialize in a few particular subjects. College stores must bear the load of a much greater range of subjects, a service which is costly to provide and maintain adequately. Large staffs are required for the text and reference areas, and books alone cannot support the heavy cost. Other merchandise is therefore given space to help pay the salaries and various overhead costs incurred in the book areas.

Salaries and wages are in fact the single greatest operating expense incurred by college stores. They range in the Ontario stores from just over ten per cent of gross sales up to nineteen per cent, with the average about 14.5 per cent.

College bookstores employ as many students as possible for part-time seasonal work, despite the problems that are created by class schedules which may sometimes prevent a student from working when needed. But in general the modern college bookstore is staffed by full-time people who are often highly trained.

The men and women of a college store must have a different training from their trade cousins. They must be aware of a more complex problem of stock control, of space allotment for various areas at special term openings, and of the individual educational levels of their customers. A high degree of intelligence is demanded, as well as boundless energy and an affinity for hard work. A truly liberal education and a keen interest in everything that surrounds them are other prerequisites.

The bookstore clerk, whether he is in a college store with a large reference section or a small trade store, must know how to use the tools of his trade. These tools are in the first place the catalogues that list books published in Canada, England, and the United States, and perhaps other countries, by author, title, or subject, in hard-cover and paperback – a minimum of some eight large volumes. If he cannot find the information there, he must know how to use the facilities available to him at his campus library or other resources. He must also keep abreast of the other tools of the trade, his trade journals and weekly magazines such as *Publishers' Weekly*, which have numerous tips on what is current.

Choosing book titles to stock, other than those which are required or recommended by instructors, requires a special person in the larger college store. This

buyer may select trade books or reference books. As must his counterpart in the trade store downtown, he must examine books, scrutinize advertisements, criticize reviews, and develop a list to include fiction, hobbies, nature, gardening, and other such general topics. The college store buyer must as well choose books to support all the academic subjects of his particular campus. Ten years ago the majority of non-required books were purchased by the store on the direct recommendation of faculty members. Today only the smaller college stores are in that position; the larger stores have experienced buyers to acquire books as soon as they are printed, and often when the faculty member suggests a title it has already been ordered and stocked.

Although the strength of the college section of the Canadian Booksellers Association is developing, college stores have had to send their staff south of the border for most of their professional training. The National Association of College Stores at Oberlin, Ohio, offers a one-week operations course for college store personnel, and a management seminar for managers and management-trainees consisting of two one-week seminars taken a year apart. As well, NACS and the American Booksellers Association have co-operated in offering a booksellers' school, also of one week's duration, for both trade and college store employees selling in the trade or reference areas. These courses are comparatively inexpensive, but they are beyond the reach of many store employees because of the cost to the store of travelling expenses in addition to the tuition fees. The courses, moreover, are geared for the U.S. market; Canadians must somehow supplement what is taught in relation to their own unique situation and ignore some U.S. facts which are not relevant.

The Canadian Booksellers Association has in the past offered only short training programs at its annual conventions and university/college fall regional meetings. However, in the fall of 1971 a pilot project, in co-operation with the Canadian Book Publishers' Council, was held in an attempt to educate college store personnel from behind the scenes who do not normally attend CBA meetings.

#### NATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

The involvement of the college stores in a national association is of long standing – in fact predates the creation of the Canadian Booksellers Association.

In May 1950, Ray Verrey of the McGill University Book Store initiated the formation of the Canadian Association of College Stores, suggesting it might become a division of the U.S. National Association of College Stores. On 6 November, 1950, ten college store representatives and six representatives from publishing houses met in Toronto to form such an association. The second meeting was held in Montreal on 26 and 27 April, 1951; Mr. Verrey was re-appointed chairman and Peggy Orr, also of the McGill University Book Store, was named secretary.

During 1951 several Canadian trade booksellers also met and formed an *ad hoc*

committee to organize a broader association. Subsequently all interested booksellers attended a meeting in Toronto on 28 and 29 April 1952, and formed the Canadian Retail Booksellers Association. (The word "Retail" was dropped from the title in 1959.) During the next month, May 1952, the Canadian Association of College Stores met in Hamilton. E. H. Williamson, president of the CRBA, attended and invited the college stores to join the new association in order to form one body with a stronger voice. At that meeting the Canadian Association of College Stores disbanded and joined the CRBA as a group, with Margaret MacMurray of the University of Toronto Bookstore as chairman of the college section.

In 1953 the CRBA had 102 members, including seven college stores. Today it has 282 members, of which sixty-seven are college stores on campuses of universities and community colleges.

The work performed by the directors and members of the CBA is on a voluntary basis for the most part, with a part-time professional secretary. With this type of structure it has been very difficult to have a formal system of education set up for the college store personnel. The continuity required for a sound program of development could be provided by a general manager. However, the association lacks the funds for a full-time general manager and the expenses which accompany that office.

#### PROBLEMS OF COLLEGE BOOKSELLING

The college textbook, generally speaking, carries only a twenty per cent discount from the suggested list price, but the bookseller must bear the cost of transportation from the publisher to the store. Heavy textbooks become, or seem to become, heavier as the distance increases from Toronto, the main source of supply. The average transportation cost for books in a college store runs from 1.5 per cent of book sales outside but relatively close to Toronto, to four per cent in other parts of Ontario, to five per cent or more in the far east or west. Quite often the twenty per cent discount will also have to cover the cost of at least one long-distance telephone call to order the title on a rush basis, to check on its whereabouts, or to re-order quickly if the store runs out of copies at a crucial time. Wages and salaries, as has already been noted, take up more than half the discount allowance.

Other expenses incurred and charged to the bookstore vary from campus to campus. The financial administration depends upon the individual structure of each university, and seldom do two stores have exactly the same expenses charged to them. To closely compare operating expenses would be folly, due to the wide variety of ways and means of reporting. The general situation may be seen, however, in a survey conducted by the University of Toronto in the spring of 1970. The principal author of the report was Charles H. Fanning, manager of the University of Toronto Bookstores, who concluded:



Considering the volume of business conducted by college stores, the lack of information regarding cost of operation is remarkable. It would seem that most stores could do with much tighter control of their expenses and inventories. It is also apparent from the statistics provided that almost all stores are subsidized, either directly or indirectly, by their universities. This often results in "imagined" profits which are used to give discounts or to finance capital investments or building programs. It would appear that a better business practice would be to allocate true operating costs to the stores, giving management proper budget control, and to openly subsidize building programs, capital investments or bookstore operations.

Although this sounds reasonable and practical, the suggestions would be very difficult for some stores to attain in practice. The hue and cry that might develop from the students if discounting was discontinued is a hurdle many are reluctant to face. Currently most college stores offer some sort of discount to their students, initiated several years ago at the students' request on some campuses, or before the students could apply pressure on others. These discounts are of many varieties. One store offers a five per cent rebate on purchases on presentation of sales receipts at the close of the school year; another discounts textbooks only, and to cash customers only, at a rate of five per cent; a third marks up its textbook prices, on the basis of past experience, to perhaps fifteen per cent over cost; a fourth discounts all paperbacks, whether texts or not, at seven per cent. The discounts tend to fluctuate as the years go by, as the stores strive for a break-even basis, but, as Mr. Fanning explained, the profits are only "imagined" in some cases. A few stores report that they do not discount by any method.

Some students have been unhappy about the supposedly large profits earned by their university bookstores, and over the years on various campuses have tried different tactics to persuade their administrative heads to give back to the students any profits earned. Some students opened their own stores, run by students, in direct opposition to the university-run operation. Unfortunately in these cases the students lacked experience in management and continuity in staff, and after several months or a year or two these operations disbanded. Usually they went into bankruptcy and the publishers were left with unpaid bills.

Another student response to the so-called profits of college stores is reflected in the operating expense labelled "shrinkage" (pilferage, or theft, if you prefer). This was of little concern in the clerk-service store of years ago. Today it varies from 1.5 per cent of gross sales at a store with personal clerk-service on small items, to over five per cent of gross sales. The average seems to be about three per cent. Reported figures are twice that amount for stores downtown, but many college store managers over the years have installed turnstiles, convex mirrors, and other devices, and most have removed them for lack of results. Changing the price tags on books and other merchandise was one of the games that students played; this practice has been deterred by methods such as marking prices in charcoal print, which can be easily removed if the books have to be returned to the publisher but cannot readily be

changed by a customer. A few stores have student guards or floor walkers, and most stores employ professional uniformed guards during the September rush and at other periods of the year. Some stores have resorted to private investigation services: their salaries are not included in the shrinkage, but are an added expense.

The space allocated to the college store on campus is usually inadequate before it is off the drawingboard. The National Association of College Stores quotes a ratio of from two to four and one-half feet per student as a rule of thumb for college store planning. In only one university in Ontario is this proportion approached; elsewhere floor areas fall very short of these figures. In cramped quarters, averaging about one and one-third square feet per student, all aspects of the administration of the Canadian college bookstore takes place.

Housed in this area are the means and methods of the store's stock control, however elaborate or simple they may be. While the small stores can operate with very simple stock sheets and the memories of alert clerks, the larger stores must of necessity tangle with paperwork which becomes more complex as new methods are developed.

A sampling of the stores of Ontario and of other parts of Canada showed that stock control systems differ with each manager. In general, some use is made of a card control system for all titles in the stores surveyed. The "eyeball" method is normally used for textbook control – that is, a clerk visually counts stock on hand and enters it on the control cards or sheets. Reference books are controlled in the same fashion, or by individual cards inserted in the books. These cards are removed by cashiers at point of sale and passed on to the buyer, who then decides to re-order or cancel the titles. Trade books are usually controlled by the individual card method.

Canadian college stores are behind some of their U.S. cousins in stock control by electronic data processing. Very few have any sort of EDP control, not from lack of desire but from lack of funds or time allotment on their universities' computers. However, they have been following the experience of U.S. stores and will profit in time from the latter's errors and discoveries. When they are able to secure computer time, the International Standard Book Numbering system will be invaluable to them. Not all publishers are using this system as yet, but as it spreads, the control of ordering, stocktaking, and book returns will become much more streamlined.

#### RELATIONS WITH PUBLISHERS

Returns of overstock of textbooks are still allowed for the most part but publishers, after howling about college textbook returns for several years, are beginning to clamp down. Textbook returns were formerly allowed, usually up to twelve months from date of purchase, in any quantity, provided the books were in "mint condition" and permission had been requested by the store and granted by the publisher before the books were returned. Now the trend is toward a returns al-

lowance of twenty per cent of the previous year's purchases. Some more difficult publishers allow only a six-month return period, or twenty per cent of purchases per title, or impose a five per cent penalty on the value of the credit invoice covering the returns.

These restrictions on returns hinder buyers' decisions. In the light of the changes in student buying habits, buyers are reluctant to carry any more inventory than is absolutely essential. They are well aware of the costly burden of shipping back to the publishers textbooks for which they have already paid receiving charges. They also know that the university is charging their store interest on the investment in inventory, and a "rental" fee to cover maintenance, light, heat, etc., on the floor area occupied by the books. When publishers add penalties on returns, textbook buyers tend to slash orders or refuse to buy from the restrictive publishers.

Faculty members are becoming aware of the squeeze and are co-operating with the stores. These same faculty members used to demand that the stores order as many copies of a text as the expected registration in the course. They now realize that this policy may leave the stores with non-returnable merchandise and, so that current books will not be increased in price to cover such losses, they are happy to suggest book titles from the more co-operative publishers. In other words, college store blacklists are beginning to appear with the names of unco-operative publishers for the benefit of the instructors.

Added to all the other frustrations for the buyer is the professor who does not make up his mind early enough, or procrastinates, so that his orders to the store arrive after the publishers' deadlines for book returns. Possibly the titles in his list have been used before and some would still have been in stock when he was supposed to order, but this time all have been picked from the shelves, had their price marks removed, been packed and shipped with all the necessary correspondence to the publisher – only to have to be re-ordered almost immediately. These books possibly were included in the twenty per cent returns allowance, excluding some other title which will not be used again and must be considered dead stock, to be sold at a greatly reduced price wherever the store can find a market for it.

Problems with publishers are not new. One of the oldest, and one which does not affect the college store alone, is that of direct selling by the publisher to the consumer. A few progressive publishers have discontinued this practice within the past year or so. To make matters worse, when publishers have sold direct, they usually have given a courtesy faculty discount of ten to twenty per cent, often equal to half or all the discount allowed the college store.

A discount of ten per cent was usually offered to faculty members by their campus store to attract their business, but this practice has generally been dropped and managers do not feel that it has affected their sales to any degree. Most far-sighted faculty members, realizing the implications of the privilege granted to them when students with meagre funds had to pay full price, did not object when the discount



was discontinued. Again, a few publishers have followed suit and have withdrawn the direct mail discount to faculty members.

Another problem, usually with the publisher-agents or book importers, is lack of depth and breadth in warehousing the lines of the publishers they represent. Some agents have the audacity to increase the price of the imported books, explaining away the increase by reason of warehousing, free desk copies, advertising, invoicing, etc., when in fact they are not carrying stock of the titles required. When the books are ordered they then turn around and order them from the United States or England and let the bookseller and his customer wait. In a college store, instead of one customer waiting it can be hundreds, which can disrupt a course and cause the bookstore a great deal of ill will. Moreover, some agents call this "special-ordering" without privilege of returns at the end of the store's sales period. In such cases the agent is not needed: he is not performing a service in any way, and has increased the prices of the books concerned, but the store must deal through him because his principal will not fill orders directly.

Attached to this problem is that of poor reporting of stock conditions. When a specific title is ordered by the college store and the publisher or agent does not have enough stock to fill the request, he is expected to report the situation immediately. Often, in fact, the reporting takes weeks instead of days, and will be incomplete when it does arrive. If the title is reported "out of stock - will be shipped in 3 to 4 weeks" the store's buyer can inform the professor, who can then usually adjust his timetable. But to have an out-of-stock report appear without an "expected" date can cause chaos; the wait can seem to be interminable and in an extreme case the course may be completed before the books arrive.

The Ontario government as a publisher breaks all records for poor service and further aggravates the college store buyer by insisting on pre-payment of all orders. The Ontario Queen's Printer will not accept deposit accounts, a standard practice with most government printing offices. To pre-pay an order, a college store must write or telephone for the price, await the reply, then have a cheque drawn with all the institutional red tape which further delays the ordering process. Added to this inconvenience is the fact that orders of fewer than twenty-five publications, an unreasonably high number, do not qualify for any discount. Twenty-five copies or more qualify for only twenty per cent, and no returns privilege is granted.

If a person walks into a trade store downtown and asks for a publication from the Ontario Queen's Printer, he will likely be asked to order it directly, unless the bookseller handles the order himself for no recompense but to oblige a regular customer. If the purchaser orders it himself he will eventually receive the publication, but the bookseller may have offended a customer. It doesn't seem to matter to the Queen's Printer that the paperwork involved in sending a *single* copy of a publication could possibly cost as much as the publication's cover price; since it is a government branch it has public funds to support it.

The college store cannot tell the customer to order directly: it is there to perform a service for faculty and students. If a faculty member orders an Ontario Queen's Printer publication for use in his class of fifteen students – for example the *Interim Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Non-medical Use of Drugs* – the bookstore must lose money. These publications are pre-priced, so it is difficult to increase the retail price to students who do not understand the intricacies of the situation. If the buyer buys twenty-five copies to obtain a twenty per cent discount he ends up with ten copies unsold and has lost the price of five copies before overhead is even considered. If, on the other hand, he orders only fifteen copies, he performs all his service at no charge so that other merchandise must pay for his overhead.

Pre-priced books coming into Canada from the United States or Great Britain cause college stores personnel many headaches. If a book is imported through an agent, which is the general custom, that agent increases the list price to cover all necessary expenses, but the cover of the book still shows the original price. Then the students complain that the bookstore is over-pricing the book, unaware that the store had little to do with the selling price. Store clerks, supervisors, and managers spend a great deal of time with students explaining price differentials, because if the store marks a book in any manner that book is no longer eligible for returns privilege, and publishers would consider a book "marked" if the store permanently obliterated the price.

In spite of the various problems college bookstore managers face, only a few of which have been discussed here, these men and women seem to enjoy their jobs. A sampling of stores across Canada shows that many have had only one or two managers since their inception and that a manager may have been in that position for twenty, thirty, or even over forty years. It must be love for the job, for many managers believe that they and their supervisors could be better paid in other positions if they wanted to leave.

#### NEW PERSONNEL, NEW COLLEGES

There does not appear to be any trend for Canadian college store managers or their staff members to move to the United States, but there has been some influx into this country of experienced people from the United States and Great Britain. This adds to the Canadian experience and contributes to the widening viewpoint of Canadian college bookstore personnel.

The u.s. college stores from which many of these people come are very similar to those here, although the Canadian stores for the most part derive a greater percentage of their sales volume from books. In Canada, on the average, textbooks apparently account for about sixty per cent of gross sales, with non-required reference and trade books accounting for about twenty per cent more, and only the remaining twenty per cent divided among varied non-book merchandise. A typical u.s.

college store might account for as much as thirty-eight per cent of its gross sales in merchandise other than books.

There are other differences as well. In the United States, a great number of stores are not institutionally owned, but serve their campus communities instead of, or in addition to, the institutional stores. In Canada, almost all college stores are institutionally owned. There are, moreover, numerous small college stores in the United States; over two-thirds of the membership of the National Association of College Stores report annual sales of less than half a million dollars. Ontario university stores on the other hand are generally in the medium or large categories, typically with an annual sales volume of nearly one million dollars, and an inventory averaging, at cost, in the neighbourhood of one third of a million dollars.

Prior to 1967 there were in Ontario five institutes of technology and six vocational centres, some of which had already well-established bookstores. In 1967 all but one of these institutions were converted to community colleges, and several other community colleges were founded. Bookstore operations were begun without the benefit of trained managers. Granted, two or three people went to the community colleges from jobs within university bookstores, but not from managerial positions. To alleviate this sudden pressure on new store personnel, a two-day seminar was held by the University of Toronto Press to which key persons from each community college bookstore were invited. But only the basic rudiments were discussed. Of this group of twenty-five, only about half actually returned to management positions in their own stores. The result of this sudden increase in outlets was to increase problems in the textbook returns area for publishers.

The situation is continually changing: community college personnel are becoming more experienced, and are able to attend the college meetings of the Canadian Booksellers Association in an effort to broaden their knowledge. Their budgets will allow few of them, however, to attend any more than CBA meetings. The constraint is lack of travel money. They also lack funds to join the National Association of College Stores which, of course, is slanted to the U.S. market but still provides the best training available in the college store field.

The size of the community college bookstores in Ontario is small at present, with average annual sales under one-quarter of a million dollars. These stores do not yet have to deal with a complicated choice of textbooks per course. But they do have a different problem, similar to that which faces Waterloo Lutheran University Bookstore – having branches in outlying communities catering to the needs of their own areas, with all the ordering, shipping, sales, and returns requirements accompanying these small stores.

In spite of all difficulties, by and large the student on a Canadian university campus is served well by his bookstore. Thousands of book titles are available for his perusal, and a better-informed staff than that of years ago is ready to help him if he



desires. It would seem that the college bookstore and publisher are also becoming better friends. The practice of "buying around," except in extreme cases, has ceased, and this in itself has strengthened the book industry in Canada to some degree. The college store often has a low profile outside its immediate campus, but it is increasingly more effective a channel between publisher and reader.

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# *Public and School Libraries*

SONJA SINCLAIR

The contribution literature makes to the cultural life of a country cannot be measured exclusively in quantity or even quality: also essential is its availability to the reading public. Obvious though it may seem it is sometimes forgotten that publishing is not an end in itself, that literary success may begin but does not end with critical acclaim, that a book is a source of frustration rather than inspiration to potential readers if they are unable to buy or borrow it.

That is why the lending library is such an essential complement to the publishing business, in Canada more than almost anywhere else in the western world. Given the size of the country, the concentration of population in large cities along the southern border, and the economics of bookselling, it is hardly surprising that bookstores are a rarity throughout much of Canada, including rural and northern Ontario. Algonquin Library Region, one of fourteen such regions created for administrative purposes by the Provincial Library Service, covers 13,481 square miles but has only six so-called booksellers; of these only two are "real" according to the regional library director in Parry Sound. The shortage of booksellers is still more acute in Northwestern Region, with headquarters in Thunder Bay and a territory of 212,000 square miles. Even in Canada's largest cities, bookstores are often scarce, poorly stocked, and inadequately staffed. With high book prices acting as a further deterrent to book buying, lending libraries inevitably assume the stature of a major, if not the only, source of reading material for thousands of Canadians.

College, university, legislative, and business libraries all share in this bridging function between the printed word and its consumers. This background paper is limited to the public and school libraries of Ontario because: both types of library endeavour to serve people throughout the province, regardless of occupational status, place of residence, or educational background; both systems are financed jointly by provincial and municipal funds, and therefore share many of the same

problems, challenges, and obligations; both systems ideally should complement each other chronologically as well as functionally. The child who looks to the school library for curriculum-oriented books depends on the public library for recreational reading; the young adult in search of continuing education will look to the public library to take over where the school library left off.

#### RECENT HISTORY AND GROWTH

Although the public library in Ontario as an institution is almost as old as Confederation, it has emerged only within the past decade as a major factor in the province's cultural life and educational system. True, the provincial government did establish an office of Superintendent of Libraries in 1880, the Free Libraries Act was passed in 1882, and almost twenty years later the Ontario Library Association was founded. But the infant library system experienced such a protracted childhood and anaemic adolescence that, according to an OLA brief presented to the Minister of Education in 1960, sixty-four per cent of the province's municipalities and thirty per cent of its population were still without any library service of any description.

Where service was available in 1960, it was often pitifully inadequate and uneven. This was true even in Toronto, traditionally the envy of most isolated libraries and, at that time, home of the province's only school of library science. In the late fifties, when Dr. Ralph Shaw of Rutgers University was commissioned to undertake a study of library services in Metropolitan Toronto, he was confronted with a crazy quilt of systems subservient to thirteen municipalities ranging from the Village of Swansea with a population of 8,710 to the City of Toronto with a population of 686,896. Per capita operating expenditures in these assorted lending institutions ranged from 70 cents to \$3.20.

The situation was considerably worse in less affluent and more sparsely populated parts of the province. As late as the mid-sixties, some libraries within commuting distance of Toronto were operating on a total budget of \$1,500 a year to cover salaries, books, and maintenance. Further north, Kirkland Lake and the surrounding area of 58,000 square miles had a total of fifteen libraries which jointly employed one professional librarian.

A marked shortage of even sketchily equipped school libraries did nothing to relieve the generally depressing library picture. In 1965, the Ontario Library Association published a report prepared, with the financial blessing of the Department of Education, by Francis R. St. John Library Consultants of New York. Ontario citizens were shocked to learn from it that they lagged behind every Canadian province except Quebec in provision of school library services. Specific weaknesses unveiled by the St. John report:

1. Lack of elementary school libraries: only 17.87 per cent of all schools reporting had central libraries of their own.



2. Lack of books in elementary school libraries; only 1.13 per cent of all schools reporting had collections of more than 5,000 volumes, while 75 per cent had fewer than 1,000 volumes. "This is not large enough a collection to support the curriculum and the reading interest in any elementary school."
3. Inadequate replacement of outdated reference works: "Teaching backed up by reference material more than five years old must be a difficult feat, yet teachers in 87 per cent of elementary schools are require to do just that."
4. No organized program in most elementary schools to introduce children to books or library services.
5. Lack of central libraries in secondary schools: only 83 per cent of Ontario's secondary schools had central libraries, compared to a national average of 87 per cent. "It should be clear that any secondary school without a central library, staffed by well trained librarians and a varied collection to support the teaching program, is not providing the full learning process which should be expected and required."

The release of the St. John report was the most important turning point in the evolution of Ontario's library services. Apart from its thorough and hard-hitting analysis of the province's library resources, the report suggested concrete remedies; and it did so at a time when educational spending was still sacrosanct and when adult education was emerging as an indispensable component of a life-long learning experience.

Press reaction to it was a mixture of indignation over the past and visions of a more glorious future. "The facts exceed our worst suspicions," chastised the *Globe and Mail* in an editorial; however, the Minister of Education had already announced he was planning to introduce a new Public Libraries Act incorporating several of the St. John recommendations. Should other officials and bodies move with equal speed and spirit, the editorial concluded, "our library system may at long last achieve the position it merits in the educational life of the province."

Actually, the Public Libraries Act which was adopted early in 1966 by the Legislature fell short by a wide margin of the expectations raised and the objectives set by the St. John report. It did not legislate library standards, nor did it implement recommendations for a highly centralized library system. It did follow the report in establishing a framework for county and regional libraries, but shied away in the name of autonomy from ordering these libraries to provide certain services. It was in fact a permissive piece of legislation which set out in some detail what might be done but stopped short of saying that it *should* be done.

Yet in the all-important field of financial support, a regulation passed under the act did produce an effective though highly complex formula, based essentially on local assessment and current library expenditures, bolstered by incentives for county libraries and the employment of professionally qualified staff. This formula has since been repeatedly amended and simplified to an extent where it bears little resemblance to the original; but there is ample evidence that the Public Libraries Act, whatever its shortcomings, initially at least provided a powerful impetus for

the expansion and improvement of library services throughout the province.

The magnitude of this expansion can best be expressed in statistical data:

	<u>1964</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1970</u>
Population of Ontario	6,342,497	6,634,000	6,765,000	7,211,605
Provincial grant to public libraries	\$2,719,508	\$5,919,021	\$6,439,764	\$7,550,740
Total public library expenditures	\$15,852,513	\$25,302,049	\$28,937,850	\$38,696,942
Per capita public library support (provincial and municipal)	\$2.50	\$3.81	\$4.28	\$5.37
Total public library holdings (books only)	8,965,070	10,434,865	11,110,602	12,495,292
Total public library circulation (books only)	43,997,325	44,143,347	46,555,335	46,824,927

Compared to other provinces and indeed other countries, Ontario emerges as the proprietor of a most generously endowed public library system. Its provincial grants, library expenditures, and book holdings all exceed by a comfortable margin the corresponding totals for all the other Canadian provinces combined. Indeed, the current operating expenditures for public library services in Metropolitan Toronto, home of one-tenth of the country's population, are alone double the amount spent by any province other than British Columbia or Ontario; and North York Public Library, whose only premises fourteen years ago were a corner of the municipal building, today has a book-buying budget more than twice that of any municipality outside the province.

Any attempt to match figures with other countries is risky since accounting methods are never identical and statistics never up to date. Nevertheless, it seems fair to say that both in financing and community service, Ontario's public library system compares favourably with those of Europe's most advanced countries. Per capita library expenditures, for instance, range from Ontario's current \$5.37 to \$3.46 in Denmark (1967), \$1.96 in Great Britain (1969-70), and thirteen cents in France (1965). Even with due allowance for higher Canadian costs and the fact that Europeans are probably more inclined to buy books than borrow, the figures are fairly impressive.

The expansion of school libraries in Ontario during the late sixties and early seventies is not nearly so well documented. A tremendous growth did take place, triggered as in the case of public libraries by the revelations of the St. John report. In fact, within minutes of the report's release, the Minister of Education announced a generous increase in legislative grants for school library books and the extension of such grants from the elementary to the secondary school system. But the immediate effect of these measures is largely unrecorded and difficult to assess. All that can be said with any certainty is that the St. John recommendation for minimum collections of 3,000 books in elementary school libraries and 5,000 volumes in

secondary school libraries (plus ten volumes per secondary student above 250) was received at best as a long-term objective rather than a policy ripe for implementation.

In 1966-7, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics reported 5.2 books per pupil in Ontario's secondary school libraries, barely half the acceptable minimum recommended by St. John a year earlier. As for elementary schools, the vast majority had neither libraries nor librarians so that, pending the completion of an extensive construction and training program, books purchased in any quantity would simply have produced a major storage problem.

Nevertheless the pressure was on and progress was being made, although its exact extent in dollars is unavailable. Until the end of 1968, detailed accounts of expenditures were rendered annually to the Department of Education by individual school boards, but there is no evidence that anybody ever analyzed or added up the figures relative to library book expenditures. (DBS did publish tables entitled, "Expenditures on purchase of library books, Ontario Libraries." However, the totals for school libraries conflict with those computed from primary source material by other researchers; it appears therefore that the DBS figures are based on incomplete returns.)

Even these slender research leads disappeared in 1969 when specific legislative grants for books were abolished and the Department of Education introduced a comprehensive per-pupil grant to be spent by boards according to their individual needs. It was a decision taken in the name of local autonomy, but at least one cynical member of the Department has a different explanation: "When you don't say how much you're spending on any particular item, nobody can say it's too much or too little."

In any case, the evolution of school libraries apparently did receive a tremendous impetus in this period from the amalgamation of small boards into larger units and the resulting requirement to raise backward schools up to the standard of progressive ones. The following statements from directors of education in various parts of the province illustrate the point:

Before the establishment of consolidated boards, we had only one school library outside of City X; that one was in Y, and it served two schools. We have built three libraries in the last three years, and hired fifteen librarians. Before that we only had one librarian.

When this board was formed, we had fifteen secondary schools and, up until this year, only five of them had adequate library facilities. Since 1969, the board has embarked on an extensive library program and we are now in the process of constructing five additional libraries.

Prior to 1969, no separate school board in the county was financially able to provide adequate library facilities, qualified teacher-librarian personnel, or an adequate supply of book titles . . . Only three out of eighteen schools had library facilities built as part of the school plant prior to January 1969, and two of the three used this space as regular classrooms.



We started a library expansion program six years ago, and have jumped from fewer than ten elementary school libraries to 86. We now have a library and librarian in every elementary, secondary, and junior vocational school. Instead of the four books per pupil we had in 1967, we should have ten by 1973.

To determine what this expansion may mean in actual expenditure, a province-wide survey was made of boards of education. On the basis of a response from slightly more than 85 per cent of public and separate school boards, it appears that library book purchases by Ontario's school boards amounted to a combined total of almost \$13 million in 1970, a marked increase over the \$10.6 million recorded in 1968. The average per pupil expenditure for secondary schools climbed from \$6.71 in 1968 to a high of \$7.99 in 1969, then receded to \$7.71 in 1970. On the elementary level, per pupil expenditures continued to rise from \$5.08 in 1968 to \$5.46 in 1969 and \$6.11 in 1970.

There is reason to believe that figures for 1971 and 1972, if available, would reflect considerable cuts in the purchasing power of school libraries. Nevertheless, it is obvious that both school and public libraries have come a long way since Francis St. John subjected them to his scrutiny some seven years ago.

#### INTERPRETING THE STATISTICS

Dramatic though the recent expansion in library budgets may be, any attempt to equate growing expenditures with improved quality and service would be a patent over-simplification of the facts. Quite apart from the obviously important question as to how wisely the money is being spent, library statistics must be interpreted with due regard to the following considerations.

##### *The peaks and the valleys*

Statistics by their very nature emphasize totals and averages, not the highs and the lows which may be symptomatic of the system's real efficacy (or lack of it). In the case of public libraries, for instance, the fact that 1970 per capita expenditures in Ontario ranged all the way from 20 cents to \$10.23 is potentially just as significant as the average figure of \$5.37. In the same year, per-pupil library book expenditures ranged from \$15.49 down to \$2.34 in elementary schools, from \$21.71 to \$2.29 in secondary ones.

In so far as books and library services represent a necessity in the lives of both children and adults, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that some Ontario citizens are being short-changed.

##### *The high cost of books*

In the summer of 1971, the director of the Midwestern Regional Library System

compared, with the aid of a computer, the cost of library books purchased during the first six months of the year with the corresponding figure for 1970. The calculation confirmed what many librarians had suspected all along: an average price increase of twelve per cent for adult books, and of more than seventeen per cent for children's books. These increases were all the more startling in view of the fact that the Canadian dollar was unpegged on 30 May 1970, and was floating at near-parity with its U.S. counterpart in the period covered. Since the vast majority of books purchased by public libraries originate in the United States, their price could logically have been expected to drop or at least remain constant in the face of inflationary pressures.

It is of course possible that Midwestern Regional Library simply bought bigger, better, more lavishly illustrated, and therefore more expensive books in 1970 than in 1971. Possible but unlikely, particularly since similar though undocumented cost increases are being reported by public and school librarians all over the province.

However, those librarians who attribute inflated prices to unscrupulous mark-ups by Canadian agents may be reassured by recent news from south of the border. A librarian at Rutgers University has been quoted as saying, "We are 35.6 per cent worse off than two years ago because of inflation." The University of Kansas library director figures his library's purchasing power has declined twenty per cent since fiscal year 1971, and the University of Colorado library has had to reduce spending on current American books by fifty per cent in order to live within its budget.

### *The high cost of everything else*

Compared to the enormous increase in expenditures recorded by public libraries over the past few years, the growth of book collections has been almost imperceptible. In the six-year period 1964-70, provincial library grants almost tripled and total expenditures almost doubled; yet total library holdings increased by less than fifty per cent and book circulation inched up by a mere six per cent.

There are some perfectly valid reasons why public library holdings should not have kept pace with swelling budgets. One is the urgent need for better qualified and therefore more highly paid staff, which has been partly met. Another is a weeding-out process which has cleared many old libraries of deadwood and provided space for new acquisitions. The value of a library collection obviously cannot be assessed exclusively on the basis of a bibliographic body count.

Nevertheless, indications that budget-drafters tend to view books as the most readily expendable item among library requirements should give rise to legitimate concern. According to one library director, "The book budget is the only variable we've got; a lot of municipal councils won't even allow you to have a contingency fund, so if the furnace blows up, the book budget has to go."

The trend is even more pronounced in the school system where books, particularly library books, apparently bear the brunt of the current economy drive.

### *The advent of the audio-visual era*

Although records, films, and tapes have been commercially available for a long time, it is only within the past few years that libraries have broadened their lending function to include such non-print items. In 1970, public libraries in Ontario devoted one-sixth of their total budget to the purchase of "materials," or about seventeen cents out of every dollar spent. The director of the Provincial Library Service, William Roedde, has estimated that non-print items accounted for ten per cent of that seventeen cents; but some of the more progressive libraries such as Scarborough are spending twenty per cent of their materials budget on audio-visual "software" and others clearly hope to follow suit. Among school libraries the same development is exemplified by one northern Ontario board of education, which recently launched a new film library and audio-visual centre with an initial investment of \$80,000 spread over two years.

Highly commendable in itself, this trend nevertheless imposes a further strain on the purchasing power of libraries. Barring a substantial increase in the size of the financial pie, a larger slice for films and records must inevitably cut into the portion available for books.

### *The advent of paperbacks*

Of all the variables which have recently affected the relationship between financial resources and library service, the only counterweight to rising costs and increased expectations is the genesis of quality paperbacks. This is particularly true in the case of school libraries which are not obliged to provide their clients with multiple copies of the latest best-seller the moment it rolls off the press and can therefore wait for a paperback edition to become available.

Some thirty to forty per cent of a secondary school library's basic collection is now commonly purchased in paperback, and paperbacks account for twenty per cent of the total library book expenditures of the fastest growing school board in the province. "The increased use of paperback is *the* single most significant change in school book buying," according to the director of education of a large metropolitan board. And Doris Fennell, Assistant Superintendent of Curriculum at the Department of Education, remarked, "I don't know what some schools would do without them."

### ONTARIO'S PUBLIC LIBRARIES: ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

In the final analysis, financial statistics are significant only when translated into accomplishments. The real question is not how much is being spent, but what does the money provide in materials and service?



Ontario's present public library system was conceived as a three-tiered pyramid with some five hundred municipal libraries at the bottom, a modest layer of county libraries in the middle, and fourteen regional libraries at the top. All but one of the regional libraries are supported exclusively by provincial grants plus any fees they can collect for services, and are not responsible to regional or local governments. The only exception is Metropolitan Toronto Library, which derives the bulk of its revenue from a metropolitan levy and is answerable to the Metro Council.

According to the Public Libraries Act, regional libraries may perform a variety of functions designed to supplement or support services available from municipal libraries. However, there is no established line of authority between the three library levels. Nothing in the act compels the regional library to supply any specific service, or any of the local units to accept it.

Municipal and county libraries are supposed to be supported essentially by municipal grants and only to a much lesser extent by the province. On an average, the provincial portion of their budgets is just under twenty per cent, although the actual proportion varies widely from one library to another. Their function is not specifically spelled out in the act but has been defined elsewhere as service to "the reading and informational needs, interests and purposes of all the people in the area." Municipal and county libraries, in brief, provide a direct day-to-day service to the public while regional libraries are cast essentially in an auxiliary role.

That is the theory. How well does the system work?

## CREDITS

Both regional and municipal libraries can boast of some impressive accomplishments, achieved at times in the face of considerable difficulties.

### *Regional level*

Film resource centres have been set up wherever possible and their contents made available to all libraries in the region on request. Almost invariably, they have proved remarkably popular. Within the Lake Erie Regional Library system, for example, film circulation increased by a third from 1969 to 1970, and total attendance doubled to two million. Northwestern Region's film catalogue is described as a local best-seller, and Georgian Bay Region reports its film circulation is increasing so rapidly it is impossible to meet the demand.

Interlibrary loans have been organized and encouraged by most regional libraries, frequently with the assistance of a teletype network and telex connection to the National Library in Ottawa. In Niagara Region, the number of interlibrary loans climbed from 124 in 1965 to 1,726 in 1970 and 2,066 during the first ten months of 1971.

Central purchasing and processing services are provided by five regional libraries. These are combined with displays of new books which municipal and county librarians are invited to examine before placing their orders. Fees charged to participating libraries vary from one region to another, but are invariably well below the actual cost of the operation.

Reference libraries or resource centres have become a common feature of regional library service. Regional libraries also have developed union lists of serials (a listing of all periodicals available from public libraries throughout the region) and migratory book collections.

Metropolitan Toronto Library, faced with the city's dramatic growth and change of character, has succeeded remarkably well in keeping pace with the demands of its heterogeneous clientele. Since its founding in 1967, it has achieved a vast expansion of the collections and services previously available from Toronto Central Library and pioneered in a number of new fields. Probably its most innovative venture to date has been the first detailed directory of continuing education courses available within the Metro area. Co-sponsored by the Ontario Association for Continuing Education and the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and assisted by a provincial grant, the directory classifies and summarizes information gleaned from dozens of calendars, pamphlets, and news releases, all more or less inaccessible to the general public. It constitutes a valuable contribution to the informational services of the city, and is a shining example of a library's capacity to co-operate with other agencies in identifying and filling a community need.

### *Municipal and county level*

The most striking recent development has been a growing tendency to widen the scope of library activities and identify them more closely with the cultural and recreational needs of the community. The result has been (a) a number of services designed to supply reading materials to the handicapped, the elderly, those unable to speak English, and those too isolated to reach a library; and (b) a diversification of materials and activities designed to attract to the library people who have not developed the reading habit and may indeed be quite impervious to it.

Librarians are trying to change the image of libraries, even to the extent of renaming them "resource centres" in the hope of making them appear less intellectual or forbidding. A visitor to such a resource centre may be able to choose between borrowing a book, an oil painting, or a jigsaw puzzle, taking a lesson in Chinese or guitar playing, watching a puppet show, or obtaining information about day-care facilities. One annual report claims the libraries within its jurisdiction "swing," while another describes its film department as the "jumpingest" part of the system – a term which may raise the eyebrows of purists. Even at that, Ontario is yet to emulate the example of Las Vegas where the public library recently staged a dem-

onstration on how to play craps, courtesy of a University of Nevada instructor of Casino Management and Operations.

## LIABILITIES

On the debit side of the ledger, Ontario's public libraries are struggling with a number of problems, most of them related to faulty communications or lack of co-operation with others.

### *Relations among public librarians*

The three-tiered structure of Ontario's public library system is based on a somewhat optimistic assumption of co-operation among the various levels of librarians. In the words of John Parkhill, director of Toronto Metropolitan Library, "Co-operation and co-ordination are fine words and desirable concepts; but in a context of autonomous library boards, they are not easy to bring about." To take one instance from his area, the introduction of a single borrower's card throughout Metropolitan Toronto, a major convenience to borrowers, was delayed for some time because one borough board was unaccountably convinced that its resources would be swamped by non-resident invaders – an assumption which eventually proved totally unfounded. Similar difficulties have been experienced by regional libraries trying to compile union catalogues of periodical holdings.

Probably the greatest frustrations have been encountered in efforts to introduce "processing" (that is, cataloguing and jacketing) and purchasing services on a regional level. The economic success of such ventures clearly hinges on the participation of the maximum number of libraries within each jurisdiction; yet in almost every instance such projects have given rise to acrimonious discussions and numerous defections. Municipal librarians claim the service is too expensive, too cumbersome, too slow, or that it robs them of the opportunity to oblige a client by buying a requested book retail if necessary. Regional library directors on the other hand say the service is a quality product with a bargain basement price-tag, that librarians insist on return privileges which are incompatible with a computerized purchasing system, and "kick up a big fuss over having to keep a five-dollar book which would cost twenty dollars to return." As for the personal service, one director claims it is extended only to the nice little lady next door whom the librarian has known for years, not to the average client.

Whatever the pros and cons of that argument, it is clear that librarians are an independent breed who do not readily relinquish any part of their jurisdiction, even if it is just a case of placing an order with a publisher. As a result, only one regional library – Niagara – has succeeded in enlisting undivided support for its centralized purchasing system. All others are plagued with hold-outs and at least one has had to discontinue the service for lack of support.



The problem, incidentally, is not confined to Ontario or even Canada. A recent issue of the *Wisconsin Library Bulletin* noted wistfully that "a network is built initially on the motivation of people who want to make it work." In Ontario as well as elsewhere, such motivation appears to be in short supply.

### *Co-operation with other libraries*

"There is no meaningful library in the province that can operate on its own," John Dutton, chief librarian for the Borough of North York, has said. "We must all rely on each other – university, public, and school libraries."

The theory is great, but the practice is almost non-existent. Ideally a citizen of St. Catharines, for instance, should be able to consult a single catalogue to find out what informational materials are available in his local public libraries, school libraries, the libraries of Brock University, the Niagara College of Arts and Technology, and the highly specialized company libraries in the area. But in practice, communications between public libraries on the one hand and university, college, and company libraries on the other are negligible. Reasons for the schism are many and complex, but one which is invariably cited as the ultimate insuperable obstacle to effective co-operation is the difference in cataloguing.

Cataloguing is an emotionally charged subject to librarians, who readily admit that they can spend days of heated argument trying to decide whether the life story of Rembrandt should be classified as "art" or "biography." One librarian has been overheard whispering that it does not really matter since it stands to reason that if a book can't be found under one heading, it must be under the other; but such heresy is rare.

The differences involve more than opinions. Public libraries use the Dewey decimal system for book classification; university libraries have embraced the totally different Library of Congress classification, which has advantages for large research collections. Thus any pooling of resources or services between the two systems is clearly inconceivable. As for community colleges, they adopted the Library of Congress system rather accidentally when their libraries were being organized under the direction of a university librarian. They later petitioned the Minister of Education to have their cataloguing system changed so that their resources could become more closely integrated with the public library system, but without success.

In the case of public and school libraries, where mutual need for co-operation is particularly urgent, the current trend seems to be toward separation rather than integration. Up to the mid-sixties, when few schools had adequate libraries of their own, public libraries included service to schools among their prime functions. Given the recent expansion and fairly generous financing of school libraries, however, public librarians now feel they should concentrate on the needs of adults and the extracurricular pursuits of children rather than use their limited resources to relieve school boards of their obligations.

Yet, regardless of policy decisions or personal preferences, public libraries today find themselves more involved with school children and students than ever before. Spurred on by the increasingly popular "project method" in education, the school population descends en masse on public libraries in search of background material which school libraries either do not have or lock up after school hours. In what appears to be the only survey of its kind in Ontario, North York Public Library found that twelve-to-eighteen-year-olds constitute more than a quarter of its clientele. What is even more remarkable, fully two thirds of these young people said the public library was the only library they used.

Given this extensive interdependence between the two systems, one might assume that teachers would check public library resources and consult the staff before handing out assignments. In the few cases where this actually happens, it is usually the outgrowth of a personal friendship between teacher and librarian rather than part of an established procedure. Apparently much more typical is the experience of one municipal librarian who found herself, without any warning, at the receiving end of five classes of eager eleven-year-olds, all in search of identical material for the same school project. "It's almost impossible to provide 150 kids with books about identifying weeds."

The complaint is common. Librarians say they have been trying for years to have teachers consult them about forthcoming assignments, without success. But there are exceptions. Both Scarborough and North York are exchanging books and information with a handful of high schools. In Thornhill, the school library placed its books in the public library one summer so they would not be out of circulation for two months of the year; and Atikokan, a town in northwestern Ontario with a population of less than 7,000, has the distinction of being the only community in the province to have produced a union catalogue of all holdings in public and school libraries.

By and large, however, liaison between the two systems is confined at best, according to Henry Campbell, head of the Toronto Public Library, to "diplomatic good will but no practical results."

### *Co-operation with publishers*

The relationship between librarians and publishers is marked by so many skirmishes that it sometimes resembles guerilla warfare rather than a joint campaign in pursuit of culture and education. Librarians claim publishers subject them to endless delays and exorbitant mark-ups; publishers retort that librarians are undermining the industry and driving up prices by "buying around" Canadian vendors, that they impede sales by encouraging people to borrow books they might otherwise buy, and that they then compound the offence by providing copying equipment. According to librarians, it takes a cypher expert to decode book invoices whose resemblance to shipments is often tenuous; according to publishers, countless hours

are wasted on attempts to check obscure or incomplete library orders.

It would presumably take judge and jury to arbitrate the dispute and decide who, if anybody, is to blame for such a strained relationship. However, the following observations may at least shed some light on the issues involved.

Delays in shipping books are a major source of frustration for almost every librarian. The complaint was extensively documented in an article entitled, "Where in Hell Are the Books We Ordered?" by the head of the Midwestern Regional Library system's processing centre, Clinton D. Lawson, in the *Ontario Library Review*, December 1971. He reported that it took four weeks to get approximately sixty per cent of new titles ordered from Canadian vendors, and that about thirty-seven per cent "straggled in during the succeeding twelve weeks." The remaining three per cent took longer: his figures did not include those books which never arrived at all.

Just how harmful such delays can be to everybody concerned can be seen in Hamilton, where thousands of dollars budgeted for the purchase of school library books remain unspent every year because of failure to deliver. In 1970, says the school board's director of education, \$16,000 was left over on the secondary school level, \$8,000 on the primary level.

The Midwestern Regional Library has a highly sophisticated purchasing system, so that delays cannot be attributed to inefficient ordering practices. It is true that the regional library displays newly published titles for the benefit of potential buyers among the region's municipal librarians before placing a consolidated order, and that such a system obviously has its own built-in delays; therefore books may be out of stock by the time the order is placed. Yet most librarians question this: any business-like vendor, they argue, should stock a new product in sufficient quantity to avoid running out within a matter of three or four weeks.

Besides, there is a widespread suspicion among librarians that Canadian publisher-agents deliberately ignore public library orders until the cream has been skimmed off retail sales. Almost every librarian has his or her own story about an order which was mysteriously misfiled, lost on the way to the warehouse, or "out of stock" even before publication date. "Ridiculous", say the publishers; still the rumours persist.

The practice of "buying around", object of frequent complaints, may be widespread in other parts of Canada but is apparently rare among Ontario's public librarians. Whatever their feelings may be about the service offered by publishers, they seem as a group to be acutely conscious of the importance of an indigenous publishing industry and keen propagators of Canadian literature. Such orders as are placed directly abroad are usually for books whose publishers are not represented in Canada.

However, some major library boards salve their conscience by dealing with supposedly Canadian wholesalers and closing their eyes to the fact that all but one of



these firms do the bulk of their buying abroad. This may make good economic sense, particularly as a defence against the minority of vendors who charge an unreasonable mark-up on imported books. Such agents provide ammunition for the business manager who says: "If publishers need subsidizing, it should not be done by forcing libraries to give away a third of their book budget."

Nor is it always a matter of money. At least one head of a small municipal library assumed her duties full of patriotic determination to practise a strict "buy Canadian" policy. It was, she reported, a disillusioning experience. Devoid of the leverage commanded by more important librarians with multidigital budgets, she found her orders consistently ignored, delayed, or returned as NCR (no Canadian rights) without any indication as to who the possessor of Canadian rights might be. Within six months, she felt compelled to switch back to the American wholesaler patronized by her predecessor.

Nevertheless, most librarians seem to agree that in so far as they are supported by public funds, they should accept a voluntary commitment to the survival of a Canadian publishing industry. In the words of North York's chief librarian John Dutton, "A Canadian educational institution should not be forced to buy Canadian, but it should recognize its responsibility to support Canadian suppliers whenever possible."

In general, ignorance of each other's problems and capabilities is a major reason for the mutual distrust and recrimination between publisher and librarian. Rightly or wrongly publishers are convinced that librarians are illiterate where the publishing business is concerned, while librarians are equally convinced that most publishers are abysmally ignorant on the subject of library needs and trends. Some publishers, they say, seem unaware that public libraries do not exist in a watertight compartment marked "for entertainment only" but have evolved into an important instrument of continuing education, and that this evolution is translated into new reader preferences. Until very recently, some of the country's major publishers never sent anything but "trade" catalogues to public libraries, on the assumption that books listed in college and business catalogues were outside the public sphere of interest. One librarian remarked: "What would happen to General Motors if they kept on producing Cadillacs when the demand is for Vegas? They would go broke."

Librarians complain that few publishers seem to know how important a client the public library system actually is, or could be. One who did take the trouble to find out discovered that fifteen to twenty per cent of his sales volume was derived directly from public libraries, without taking into account business transacted with wholesalers. This same publisher learned, apparently to his surprise, that his trade sales to North York Public Library alone are equal to the total of his trade sales to all W. H. Smith stores across the country: "So if anyone says it's not an important part of the business, they don't know what they're talking about."

Figures and statistics can of course be selected and interpreted at will. Publishers fortunate enough to have a major best-seller on their hands profess to be shocked by the libraries' small share of total sales. Libraries can and do argue that it is not their function to jump on every literary bandwagon, and that the average Canadian book with a sales potential of three to five thousand copies would never even be published without the more or less captive library market.

Attempts have been made by both publishers and librarians to establish better understanding by means of committees sponsored by the Ontario Library Association and the Canadian Book Publishers' Council. But accomplishments to date have been limited principally to modest progress toward the standardization of invoices and order forms.

### *Communications with government*

There is widespread agreement among Ontario's public librarians that the present simplified grant structure is essentially an investment in mediocrity. Wasteful in some ways, niggardly in others, the system's method of dispensing its bounty strictly on the basis of a head count encourages the formation of inefficient boards where none are required, wastes money on do-nothing libraries, and starves the ones struggling to improve their service to the public.

Evidence literally pours in from every part of the province:

The extensive change in the provincial grant structure forced a complete cancellation of a great attempt to improve the library service in small rural communities.

The establishment of a full union catalogue had to be temporarily abandoned; the level of grants available precluded any but the most basic necessities.

The grant structure has been simplified to nobody's advantage except those who do nothing.

The actual effect of the grant change was to penalize those councils which had been supporting their libraries well, and subsidize those which have been starving their libraries of funds.

The fact that such general dissatisfaction has either failed to reach the ears of the Minister of Education or made no apparent impression on him is indicative of the poor channels of communication between the library system and Queen's Park. The consensus among librarians is that the director of the Provincial Library Service, who is their official spokesman, lacks status within the Department, that public libraries consequently occupy a very unobtrusive place on the Minister's order of priorities, and that their case has therefore not received the attention it deserves.

That case is based essentially on the contention that provincial grants should be conditional on at least some measure of financial support from the community and on a minimum standard of service by the recipient library. In the case of regional libraries, the first condition cannot at present be met because the areas they serve (with the exception of Metropolitan Toronto) do not coincide with the jurisdiction

of any regional government; they are therefore inevitably dependent on the provincial treasury.

As for municipal libraries, the support they receive from their respective communities varies to such an extent that instances have been cited where the provincial grant exceeds total expenditures. In one county, eight tiny municipalities are planning to start eight independent library boards in order to collect their 65 cents per capita. The regional library director explained, "They get a grant from the government just like that; they don't have to match it out of local assessment." Even in the relatively affluent Niagara Region, the regional director reported, "There are still municipalities which only support their libraries to the extent of approximately 50 cents to \$1.50 per capita. The attitude of some elected representatives is still that public libraries are a luxury calling for absolutely minimum support."

This situation is in no way confined to any one region, province, or country. An elected representative in California last year successfully advocated a cut in the county library budget on the grounds that, "It's nice to have books and culture and knowledge but we can get along without it; I've always gotten along without it."

#### ONTARIO'S SCHOOL LIBRARIES

The quality of school libraries varies so much from one board to another and, sometimes, even from one school to another, that it defies generalization. Some boards have highly qualified library co-ordinators, insist on a library degree in addition to a teacher's certificate for all secondary school librarians, and require at least summer-course training for primary school librarians. Others depend for expert advice on "technicians" whose major qualifications may be a predilection for reading. Some have met or even surpassed the ten-books-per-pupil minimum standard set in 1965 by Francis St. John; others are not within shooting distance of it. According to one brief presented to the Royal Commission on Book Publishing, "library collections in elementary schools under Lakehead Public School Board range from excellent to virtual non-existence."

Further expansion and improvement of school libraries will depend largely on the outcome of a tug o' war in the educational world between those who see the library as the nerve centre of the modern school, the physical embodiment of educational progress centred around individual instruction and research, and those to whom the library is a frill and therefore the logical target for cuts in expenditure.

For the time being at least, indications are that, educational theories notwithstanding, library supplies in general and books in particular are bearing the brunt of the schools' current economy drive. Toronto Board of Education, for instance, responded to departmental expenditure ceilings by halving the library supply budget; so did other boards, including some whose administrators profess that "books are the last thing we would touch."



In defence of the cuts, board officials point out that discretionary expenditures account for only a small portion of their budget, that cuts must therefore inevitably be carved out of a very restricted spending area. One principal put in a nutshell the dilemma as well as the decision-makers' order of priorities: "When boards have to cut expenditures, a number of things like paper and science supplies are essentials. You spend what is left on the library: in reality, there is nothing left."

The financial predicament is compounded when a board is faced with the challenge of stocking a new library. Some boards tackle the problem by providing establishment grants, more often than not at the expense of funds earmarked for the upkeep of older libraries. But most officials admit under pressure that there is simply no way of squeezing the cost of a new book collection out of current board expenditures. Since library furnishings are considered a capital cost and therefore are not subject to the same restrictions, the result is predictable: "Go into almost any new school in the province almost anywhere," the Department's Assistant Superintendent of Curriculum, Mrs. Fennell, has commented, "and you will find lovely carpeting and shelving with next to nothing on the shelves."

To Mrs. Fennell, the current practice of allowing three to five years for the stocking of school libraries is about as satisfactory as filling a new swimming pool at the rate of one foot per year. She is scornful of so-called basic collections, heavy on reference books and little else, described by directors of education as "adequate for study purposes." According to her, "students are doing what they call research, but all they really do is copy things verbatim from encyclopaedias." As for board officials who profess to be satisfied with the status quo, they simply don't know what a library is or should be.

One possible solution to the problem would be the re-defining of an initial library collection as a capital expenditure. The suggestion finds little favour with Department of Education officials who believe that anything worth less than fifty dollars and moveable cannot possibly be capital. (The Public Libraries Act does, however, provide for initial book collections to be included among capital costs.) Nevertheless, some boards of education are known to finance initial book collections out of their capital budget, with the tacit connivance of auditors who lump books in with equipment. It is a practice which makes "ultimate good sense" according to the chief librarian of Toronto's Board of Education. Many educators genuinely concerned with the state of school libraries agree.

At the same time, with enrolments levelling off and the need for new schools diminishing, the major problem may well be not so much how to start new libraries as how to improve existing ones, bring them up to date, and fill in the gaps.

One of the major gaps is the near-total absence of Canadian books on school library shelves. It is not uncommon to find several biographies of Lincoln but none of any Canadian statesman, be treated to accounts of the two world wars without any suggestion of a Canadian presence, or discover that the Green Berets are our

national heroes and that the major event of the year is a White House conference for young people.

In all fairness to librarians and anybody else in charge of book selection, it should be said that the choice of Canadian books suitable for children is limited, to say the least. Scarborough Board of Education was sufficiently concerned with the situation in 1970 to undertake a systematic study, and came up with some disconcerting findings:

Public school libraries suffer from a serious lack of good primary picture books, up-to-date books on Indians, Eskimos, and French Canadians, as well as on Canadian communities and on Canadian pioneer life, contemporary fiction, factual books and animal stories. At the intermediate level are lacking biographies of Canadians, Canadian travel books, sports stories and stories of Canadian industries.

But if there is indeed a shortage of such material, the school librarians have largely themselves to blame. Given the economics of publishing, children's books are too expensive for children to buy and must therefore depend for their sales almost entirely on libraries. Yet a recently published award-winning children's book, written and illustrated by Canadians and dealing with a Canadian subject, sold fewer copies in Canada than the number of primary schools in Ontario. At that it did considerably better than the vast majority of "juvenile" titles. Clearly the publishing of children's books is a labour of love to be undertaken at the publisher's peril; and until such time as school libraries can provide a more lucrative market, Canadian books for children will remain a rare commodity.

According to testimony before the Royal Commission on Book Publishing, the reason for the absence of Canadian books lies partly in administrative indifference, and partly in haphazard book-buying methods employed by boards of education. One brief in particular spoke of school libraries being "dumping grounds for cartons-full of American books," and of school boards dealing exclusively with American jobbers who don't even list Canadian books.

These charges have been borne out to some extent by other research. While there is some concern at the departmental level for Canadian origin and content of books, this concern is seldom translated into the purchasing policy or practice of the individual boards. It is perhaps an accidental but nevertheless noteworthy lapse on the part of the Department of Education that, in a "buy Canadian" directive dated January 1971 and addressed to school resource centres throughout the province, it instructed officials to "specify Canadian goods and manufactured products" supplied by architects and contractors, but made no mention of books or other learning materials.

The lapse has since been rectified by the publication of Circular 15, which lists books and other learning materials of Canadian authorship and manufacture suitable for use in school libraries. But Circular 15 is only a guide, which is all it can or should be. It remains to be seen to what extent it will affect the widespread indiffer-

ence among educators and school librarians toward the Americanization of their resource centres.

There appears to be a remarkable lack of concern among the educational establishment for the survival of an indigenous publishing industry or the propagation of a point of view not necessarily Canadian but at least unadulterated by the nationalism of others. One secondary school principal admitted without hesitation that, out of one thousand books recently purchased from a wholesaler for his school's new library, not a single one was Canadian.

Other comments, gathered from directors of education plus the library co-ordinator of one very large school board:

On the whole, this generation of teachers is only looking for information; if American books provide it in good print and good illustration, that is the book they go for.

Concerned about the future of Canada's publishing industry? I have never given the matter a moment's thought.

There is no attempt to emphasize Canadian content; if you're going to use literary criteria, you can't hamstring yourself.

Concerned at the thought there might be no Canadian book publishing industry left? No. It would be a matter of regret that we were not capable and energetic enough to develop our own industry, but it would not be a matter of concern.

If the educators are not concerned, neither apparently is the community. Research has not uncovered a single instance of parents questioning the content of library books on the grounds of an alien bias. Boards do report the occasional call from an irate citizen who wants to know how he is supposed to run a Christian home when Junior is exposed to dirty books at school. But Canadian content? Nobody could recall a complaint or even comment.

#### BALANCE SHEET AND FORECAST

Any assessment of Ontario's library systems, both public and school, must be measured against the background of the recent past, the revelations in 1965 of the St. John report, and the hodge-podge encountered in Toronto a few years earlier by Dr. Ralph Shaw.

Ontario libraries are far from perfect, as most librarians and their patrons will readily concede; but on balance they represent a giant leap forward from the status quo tolerated with apparent equanimity until a few years ago.

Both systems must also be judged with due regard to the very real problems of geography and economic disparity which are part of the provincial pattern. A former regional librarian with headquarters in what is now Thunder Bay used to



point out that his jurisdiction was larger than his native Yugoslavia; he claimed he could not span the distance between two libraries in a single day without defying speed limits.

The Public Libraries Act has been widely criticized for being overly permissive, for failing to set standards to be observed throughout the province, and for using local autonomy as an excuse for sanctioning inferior library service. Some of this criticism is undoubtedly justified. Yet it is difficult to legislate simultaneously for Toronto and Moose Factory, or to assume that a library within shouting distance of almost any publisher's warehouse has the same needs and functions as one whose books arrive twice a year by freighter canoe after a lengthy haul on a flatcar.

While regional libraries in affluent parts of the province can concentrate on providing auxiliary services, it is only natural that more remote regions see their first and most important responsibility in the provision of books. While some librarians think in terms of machine-readable information and computerized technical services, others are dreaming of a telephone and the installation of staff washrooms.

Granting that there are some common denominators to which all libraries should subscribe, it is equally true that libraries are being increasingly required to cater to the specific needs of their own communities. It is significant, for instance, that the travelling paperback collections of Eastern Ontario Region include fourteen French collections, eight Dutch, four German, and one in Chinese; or that North Central Region has a book-mailing service available to isolated subscribers, even if it is used regularly only by a total of sixteen families.

In the future public libraries may be expected to intensify their efforts to reach wider segments of the community. Few Canadian librarians would go so far as New York's Deputy Mayor Timothy Costello, who recently described the book-lending concept around which the library is built as "a millstone around its neck." But many agree that, by concentrating on a book-oriented clientele, they have been restricting their services to a mixture of students, middle-class matrons, professional persons, and businessmen. A study undertaken by North York Public Library described as a major weakness of the system its "exceptional failure to attract clerical and craftsmen groups." Surprisingly, the study revealed that retired persons make the least use of the library, and concluded that "some way must be found to increase the use of library facilities by the less educated and less book-oriented population."

To achieve the desired result, librarians can be expected to work toward three objectives:

1. Further diversification of the library function, with special emphasis on information services. Some library boards in Metropolitan Toronto are already heavily engaged in organizing seminars on such subjects as housing or legal aid, and setting up information posts to answer questions from immigrants, transients, and new members of the community. Eventually, librarians hope to expand this service to the point where the public library will be transformed from a storage to an

information centre for the entire community. In the words of library consultant Al Bowron, "The library's responsibility is to gather, organize and dispense – not to harbour information and public resources."

2. Much closer co-operation with other agencies, including Information Canada, to achieve the above result. At the moment much information, if available at all, is so effectively dispersed and disguised that few people have the ingenuity or persistence to find it. Under the new system, librarians would share responsibility and work as a team with such assorted people as social workers, policemen, health officials, health officers, and teachers.

3. An attempt to determine the actual needs of the community, and to make sure the community knows what services are available from the library. Librarians acknowledge that it is simply not good enough to sit back and wait for people to come and ask questions or request service. If people are too shy, too ignorant, or for any reason reluctant to come to the library the library will have to come to them.

If public libraries are to be transformed into information centres, school libraries can be expected to become more public. Almost certainly they will soon be required to make their services available to a much wider segment of the community, and adjust their hours to the convenience of their clients.

Both library systems will have to be re-defined so that each performs its special function without imposing an undue strain on the other. In the process, it must be the hope of everybody concerned that much more effective means of co-operation between the two systems will be found.

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# *The Writing and Publishing of Canadian Children's Books in English*

SHEILA A. EGOFF

The 1966 census of Canada reported that there were 4,394,370 people in Canada below the age of fifteen. We call them "children." By 1980, according to the projections, the number of children in Canada may be nearly 5,000,000. Even excluding the sizable proportion of this group who are French-speaking and thus not within the scope of the present study, it is clear that children constitute a major element in the Canadian population. What they do or do not read and the effect of reading (or the absence thereof) upon their development should thus be a significant concern for the rest of us.

The following paper proceeds upon the assumption that adults essentially determine the nature, extent, and hence effect of children's reading. It is worth noting at the outset that the assumption is now being challenged. A current theory holds that children should write their own material, select it, and make their own judgments upon it. The theory has much to commend it, but the hard facts remain that as of now it is adults who write children's books, select them, review them, and use them with children. So for the present the whole responsibility for children's books rests on us adults, and the focus of the paper will be on how well we have done in meeting this responsibility and where we might go from here.

The answers to these questions will ultimately depend in large part upon the standards of judgment used. It is therefore only fair that I explain my own point of view. I look at Canadian children's literature as part of the mainstream of worldwide writing for children and I judge individual Canadian books by the same criteria which I would apply to British, American, French, or German works. At the same time I recognize that Canadian writing for children, taken as a whole, has its own particular traits and problems, the appreciation of which must derive from an understanding of the distinctive Canadian socio-economic conditions which produced them. I intend, then, to be both critical and sympathetic and in



the process to show Canadian children's literature as it is and as it might be. The details follow.

#### WRITING FOR CHILDREN

Is writing for children different from writing for adults? All the outstanding practitioners of the art agree basically that it is *not*. Most would say, with C. S. Lewis, that they write a children's book because "a children's story is the best art-form for something you have to say." In other words, a genuine writer writes first of all to please himself, and no power on earth can keep him from writing. If, along the way, a book appeals especially to children, this is simply considered an extra bonus. Most practitioners would also admit that they have the ability to capture the reality of their own childhood and yet are able to express it in more universal terms. As James Reeves put it, "In a sense, you cannot write for children without being a child yourself." Unfortunately, and all too often, being childlike is equated with childishness. The two are quite different.

A writer for the young is not writing for a sub-species of humanity called children. They are, after all, similar to adults in kind, if not in degree. Interestingly enough, however, this simple point has not always been accepted. Adult attitudes towards children have, in fact, been cyclic. From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, children were simply regarded as miniature adults and integrated with adult society. From the late nineteenth century to about the middle of the twentieth century adults saw children as inhabiting a world of their own – a world that was described as "childhood" as separate from "adulthood." Now television and other aspects of the mass media have brought children right back into the world of adults.

The history of children's literature proves conclusively that it is adults who have changed their minds rather than children who have changed their innate natures. In broad terms this is what adults have done: from the fifteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century, they provided books of instruction and moral purpose; from 1850 to about 1950, the vogue was for themes of fantasy, boyhood adventure, and family life, the common feature in such stories being that adults were basically removed from children's lives; from the late 1950s to the present, authors have sought to consider complex social and personal problems through the medium of children's books, often with a strong moralizing flavour. Plus ça change, indeed!

Yet most adults even today would still consider children "special" if not different. Indeed, they praise children for the qualities they have in greater abundance than adults. They agree that they have more energy, are more enthusiastic, more curious, more willing to learn, more honest, more direct, shrewder. It is in this sense that children's books are "special" rather than "different" from books for adults. As Lillian H. Smith points out in *The Unreluctant Years*, "Children's problems are

simpler than those of their elders, yet, at the same time cut nearer to the heart of things than those of adults. Children perceive the abstract distinction between the true and the false, the good and the bad, happiness and sorrow, justice and injustice, rather than the particular application of these principles which cause their elders so much concern. Good children's books recognize these distinctions."

Children's books, then, will be simpler than many of those for their elders. Character will be winnowed, plots honed, conflicts more dramatic, the action faster paced, conclusions more clear cut. The motivation of writers, whether they write for children or for adults, may be similar but the results will be somewhat different. The important point in both forms of writing is that authors use their skills with honesty and integrity. Like the children themselves, writing for them is different only in degree, not in kind, from writing for adults.

### JUDGING CHILDREN'S BOOKS

It is misconceptions about what writing for children is, of course, that has led to so much confusion about judging it. Modern critical writing on children's literature states or intimates varying (almost opposing) views about its nature and purpose. By contrast, critics of adult literature (say from Coleridge to T. S. Eliot), while favouring different approaches to their subject, seemingly had no doubt at all about the *nature* of the beast they were discussing. Literature was simply the best that had been thought and written and it was the critic's business to understand it, to interpret it, and to promote it.

The following sampling of contemporary critics shows just how widely their conceptions differ on the evaluation of children's literature. "One of the mistaken assumptions about the nature of children's literature is that it involves the same elements and hence the same criteria as adult literature," writes one critic, while another asks, "Should children's books be rated in any lesser way [than adult literature]?" A third asks for judgments of modern children's books based on the classics of children's literature. Walter de la Mare has said that "only the rarest kind of best in anything can be good enough for the young"; C. S. Lewis believed that no book was really worth reading at the age of ten that was not equally (often far more) worth reading at the age of fifty. The most recent views seem to question even the relevance of standards themselves. Some educators feel that since children's books are chiefly intended for reading practice, it does not matter what the children read as long as they do read. Even more radically, it has been suggested that children know best, that their taste should not be interfered with, and that adults should make themselves as invisible as possible in the whole process of children's reading.

It may be thought that Walter de la Mare and C. S. Lewis need no allies, but the proponents of "lesser standards or none" are common and just plausible enough to warrant closer analysis. Certainly not every so-called "good" children's book ap-

peals to every child. Nor should it. But not to subscribe to sound, objective criticism simply imposes upon children a clueless blundering. *Caveat emptor* may be a sufficient guide for the marketplace, but only the unthinking or the condescending will regard children as fair game for tasteless, spurious, or talentless writing. The question underlying these considerations is: Do we respect children? To treat them as second-class citizens in so far as their literature is concerned implies that we do not.

Only those theories of criticism that in some form or other ask for the best should be tolerated. If adults ask for less, then they must seriously question their motives in wanting the best for children in housing, health care, and education, while denying the best intellectually. Considering that most children lack experience and knowledge – the basic attributes that separate them from adults – it seems reasonable indeed to assume that children's books should be subjected to an even closer scrutiny and assessment than books for adults. Literature for children affects far too many people early in their impressionable years for adults to fail to give it their serious attention.

#### THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF WRITING FOR CHILDREN IN CANADA

When the British immigrants in Canada first had time to turn from logging to literature, they naturally chose as their models the literary style of their mother country. The first Canadian books are thus almost indistinguishable in manner, mood, and moralizing from English books of the day.

There was, however, one significant addition: the Canadian scene. This gripped writers' imaginations perhaps more than they knew, and if the style was English – often at its worst – the setting was Canadian. And not merely superficially. The immigrants' knowledge of their new land had been won through personal travail and their observations were impressively accurate and fresh. In the midst of their problems of transferral and adjustment and the hardships that went with pioneer life – even for those who were in more “gentlemanly” circumstances – the transported Britishers came to know Canada both in its breadth and in its minuscule detail of plant and flower life. Catharine Parr Traill's *Canadian Crusoes* (1852) followed the English formula of writing for children but can be treasured for its descriptive passages as most English children's books of the period cannot.

The didactic tradition was broken in England in the 1850s and after, when outstanding writers for adults turned their talents to pleasing children rather than informing them – John Ruskin, William Thackeray, Charles Kingsley, George MacDonald, Robert Louis Stevenson. There was also a group of writers whose complete literary talents were directed toward the young – Lewis Carroll, Mrs. Molesworth, Mrs. Ewing, Charlotte Yonge, Annie Keary, and many others.

Canadian writers stood aloof from this change and particularly from the great



stream of fantasy. It is not surprising that outstanding books of fantasy were not written in Canada at this time. Pioneering hardly goes hand in hand with the sophistication and subtlety of fantasy. In fact, nothing of a richness comparable to the English productions occurred in *any* other country.

But with these British examples before them, it is yet surprising that Canadian children's books did not improve in style. Acceptable as they may have been in respect of plot and background, they are quite dead now. They lacked what gives a book staying power – that glow that shines beyond the particular period in which a book was written, even if it is markedly of that period. This explains the eclipse of such writers as James de Mille (1833–80), who wrote about eleven books for boys, and James Macdonald Oxley (1855–1907), who wrote more than twenty boys' adventure stories. A list of some typical titles of the past reveals how "artless" they were – in effect capable only of minor variations on the single theme of the Canadian outdoors: C. Phillippo-Wolley's *Gold, Gold in Cariboo! A Story of Adventure in British Columbia* (1894); John Burnham's *Jack Ralston; or, The Outbreak of the Nauscoupees: A Tale of Life in the Far Northeast of Canada* (1901); Egerton Ryerson Young's *Three Boys in the North Land* (1897). The pattern thus established has dominated writing for children in Canada to the present day.

While imaginative writing failed to find adherents in Canada, sentimentality did become a favourite theme. Long after the highly sentimental school of writing had disappeared for children in England, it was still flourishing in Canada through the writings of Margaret Marshall Saunders (1861–1947), Nellie McClung (1873–1951), and L. M. Montgomery (1874–1942). Again one could say that their settings were the best parts of their work. Basically they have been characterized by E. K. Brown. In speaking of Ralph Connor, L. M. Montgomery, and Robert Service (for whom we could substitute Marshall Saunders) he points out that "they were all more or less aggressively unliterary; and their only significance . . . is the proof they offered that for the author who was satisfied to truckle to mediocre taste, living in Canada and writing about Canadian subjects was perfectly compatible with making an abundant living by one's pen." ("The Problem of Canadian Literature," *Masks of Fiction*, edited by A. J. M. Smith).

But perhaps the chief point here is that they *could* make a living. Both de Mille and Oxley were professional writers – that is, both gave up other occupations to devote themselves full-time to writing. No writer for children in Canada today can claim this kind of status except perhaps Farley Mowat, who has not only produced several successful children's books but whose writing for adults also has considerable appeal for the young, for example *The Dog Who Wouldn't Be* and *Never Cry Wolf*.

There were other differences between these older books and those of the present. One can laugh now at their inflated style, but at least they had *some* style. It is rather hard to see so much modern writing for children degenerate into ten-word sen-

tences and two-sentence paragraphs, no matter how laudable the intention to make reading easy. The writers of the nineteenth century also had a flowing story line, and if this tended to become highly moral in tone, at least the morality was an integral part of the story and is easier to accept than the more artificial and disguised didacticism that is rampant in much of today's writing for children. It was better than what Claude Bissell once described as a "conscientious flatness and a humdrum realism."

These older books were also remarkably free from the antiseptic quality that is prevalent in most modern Canadian books for children. Perhaps because the books were so highly moral in tone, adults were often shown with human weaknesses, even with cruelty in their natures.

There is also much to be said for the picture of the Indians given in these older books. While most of the modern writers on this theme look back at the Indians through history, many writers of the nineteenth century could write about them from first-hand knowledge. Their Indian characters were not just primitive warriors; they were often shown in their natural and contemporary role as masters of woodcraft and as guides for white men in the forest. Their personal characters and characteristics were indistinguishable from those of the white man.

The themes of many of these early books – exploration, fur-trading, fighting the wilderness, endurance, survival – were much the same as those of present-day books. The treatment, however, was significantly different. The nineteenth-century writers did not seek to escape the stronger emotions and harsher realities that can be found in ordinary life. The child's world of the nineteenth century was not a world apart. Those who write for children today might find much to learn from these books of the past.

#### THE RECENT PAST AND THE SITUATION TODAY

As with those of the nineteenth century, few books from the period 1900 to 1940 have retained any claim to popularity among the young. For one thing, there were hardly enough published to ensure survival. For example, only five children's novels were published in 1921-2, five in 1923, and none at all in 1935. The scene was dominated by some American writers who also found inspiration in the land and history of Canada.

From the forties to the sixties more books were published – some thirty or forty each year from 1952 to 1964, and sixty-one in 1965. The publications of these years formed the backbone of Canadian children's literature. Within this quarter century children had the stories of Roderick Haig-Brown, Farley Mowat, Catherine Anthony Clark, John Hayes, Christie Harris, James Houston, Donald J. Goodspeed, all of whom produced a body of work for children. Canadian history and the men who made it became more familiar to children through the Great Stories of Can-

ada series. Indian legends were retold with dignity and authenticity. Most noticeable in retrospect were the one-book writers for children. Edith Sharp's *Nkwala*, Michael Hornyansky's *The Golden Phoenix* (co-authored with Marius Barbeau), Isabel Barclay's *O Canada!*, were successful, in a literary sense, even popular, by Canadian standards, but these writers, and many others, stopped with a first flowering. Similarly, established writers in other fields turned their talents to children's literature – James Reaney, William Stevenson, Selwyn H. Dewdney, and others – but after a promising flirtation seemingly ended the affair.

All the books of this period that really counted had the typical Canadian characteristics already noted. They were based on outdoor life in Canada or on Canada's past (and a fairly remote past) or on Indian lore. The major exceptions were William Stevenson's *The Bushbabies*, a story of modern East Africa, and the novels of Donald J. Goodspeed, which dealt with the Napoleonic period.

While Canadian writers were still emphasizing traditional themes, children's literature elsewhere was changing. The standard approach had hitherto been that children's reading should give a clear, steady, happy view of life for children. Childhood was the best of all possible states. With the advent of the 1960s, children's books, particularly those written in the United States, began to take on a psychological and sociological cast. Almost all the fiction became concerned with themes such as personality problems, growing up and coming to terms with oneself, alienation, or race relations. At first, most of these books were intended for the young teenager rather than younger children; but because of their simple style and vocabulary and the seeming "relevance" of their subjects they quickly made their way down to the lower age levels and began to push out not only the classics of childhood but also the great body of excellent books of the forties and fifties.

Now, through all this turmoil of the sixties in the United States and latterly in such countries as Great Britain and Australia, Canadian children's books have remained eminently stable, if not downright conservative. While other English-speaking children, as seen through their books, are coping with ineffectual parents, no parents, one parent, being unhappy, tuning in, dropping out, brushing up against drugs, alcoholism, homosexuality, and racism – Canadian children are still visiting a lighthouse, crossing the barrens, discovering a cache of Indian relics, escaping a murderer, catching a bank robber, or getting a pony for Christmas. Here is a list of titles of the books reviewed in the Spring 1971 issue of *In Review*, a library periodical devoted to the reviewing of Canadian books for children: *French Explorers of North America*; *The Fur Fort*; *The Art of Angling*; *Wonders of the World of Wolves*; *Rural Ontario*; *The Pacific Coast*; *On the Trail of Long Tom* (historical fiction on the North-West Rebellion); *Canada on Wheels*; *Once There Was a Camper*; *The Mountain Barrier*; *A Toronto Album*; *Challenge and Survival: the History of Canada*; *Mosquito, the Wooden Wonder Aircraft of World War II*; *Great Lake Indians*; *Rookie Goalie Gerry Desjardins*; *The Group of Seven*; *Raven, Creator of the World*;



*The Canadian Shield; Orr on Ice; George Eaton, Five Minutes to Green; Hockey's Greatest Stars; Forgotten People; I've Got to be Me* (Turk Sanderson); *Tales of a Pioneer Surveyor; Colonists at Point Royal; Wilderness Canada; The Broken Snare; The Hudson's Bay Company*. There are in addition one book of rhymes, two outdoor adventure stories with Canadian settings, two picture books, and three fantasies. Although not all of these books were deliberately written for children, it can yet be seen that topics directed to them have not greatly changed. Here is the same round of history, animal life, outdoor life, sports, and early Indians. In short, the subjects are still those that are deemed to be of special appeal or "good" for Canadian children, dominating the books rather than growing out of them.

Should Canadian writers have followed the trend towards "sociological" fiction? Since the mass media have put children inescapably back into the adult world, it is perhaps useless to object to these modern themes for children. Certainly their sales to Canadian libraries, both school and public, are fairly high, and libraries would not buy them if they were not being read. Nevertheless, many of them are not only superficial and badly written, but are tastelessly exploiting children's genuine interest in the world around them. Even so, a little more variety in Canadian children's books would be welcome. The United States normally produces between 2,500 and 3,000 new titles for children each year and Great Britain produces more than 2,000, and both countries have done so for a good many years. Their writing and publishing can therefore have some claims to diversification. They have the new, the controversial, the more conventional, and the usual stream of history, biography, science, and informational books. Canada, with only thirty to sixty books published each year (and closer to thirty than sixty, often) offers no such diversity. Perhaps it could not be expected to do so. But the problem is still clear – the competition Canadian authors face from foreign publishers has been intensified.

However, the present situation is not wholly black. There are two new trends in Canadian children's literature. One is the fact that we now have books of Indian legends written by Indians themselves. With the exception of Pauline Johnson, the preservation and publication of the Indian oral tradition had been left to the non-Indian anthropologist and ethnologist and to a few non-Indian "tellers of tales" who recognized its qualities and its appeal for children. The last four years have proved that the Indian may indeed become the master of his own material. George Clutesi's *Son of Raven, Son of Deer; Legends of the Tse-Shaht People* was published in 1967; and in 1969 Norval Morrisseau inspired and illustrated *Windigo and Other Tales of the Ojibway*. In all its tale of dreariness the Spring 1971 issue of *In Review* notes joyfully three books of modern Indian life (including a book of poems) written by Indians that would interest older children.

Another welcome change – and a most important one – is in the realm of book production and illustration, the physical format of children's books. After the nine-

teenth century, when children's books were quite handsome, there came a decline and it is safe to say that up to the early sixties, in this country only the Oxford University Press (Canadian Branch) paid much attention to overall design and illustration as well as content. In 1968 they published *The Wind Has Wings*, the first Canadian children's book to be printed in four colours (and also our first distinguished book of poetry for children) and followed it with two books of Indian legends, all illustrated by a talented young Canadian, Elizabeth Cleaver. Also to prove that black and white could still be used effectively came the *Alphabet Book*, drawn by Indian children and published by the University of Toronto Press. Other attractively produced books were *Son of Raven*, *Son of Deer* (Gray's Publishing, 1967), *The Day Tuk Became a Hunter* (McClelland and Stewart, 1967), *Shadows From the Singing House* (M. G. Hurtig, 1968), and all the books by James Houston published by Longman.

It is difficult and often meaningless to describe the visual by the written word. It is perhaps sufficient to say here that the visual as a complement to the printed word shows a respect for it. Most of us realize our own delight in a tastefully produced book. How much more important then it is for children that books at their best be an enticement for them, and at their poorest at least be not forbidding. Young children in particular, with their limited reading ability, value pictures highly and with little or no knowledge of authors and titles often select books for their pictorial appeal. But pictures and design can offer more than just an easy method of selection. Art in children's books is a part of all art, just as the best writing for children is part of literature.

#### THE REVIEWING OF CHILDREN'S BOOKS

Canadian children's books are almost never reviewed. This is not to say that they go wholly unjudged. Children's librarians are of course concerned to decide whether a given book merits purchase and thus they prepare and publish annotations covering most current titles in the field. These annotations usually consist of about a paragraph describing the setting, plot, and characters. There is obviously little scope for evaluation in such annotations but they do offer a verdict at least: buy or reject. The outstanding library periodical for the reviewing of Canadian children's books is *In Review: Canadian Books for Children*, published quarterly by the Ontario Provincial Library Service.

Such librarians' annotations do not, of course, reach the general public. If parents wish to acquaint themselves with new Canadian children's books, they must rely on newspapers and general journals to review them. Their chances of finding such reviews are slim indeed.

The comparison with other countries is illuminating. Canada has no daily newspapers such as the *Times* of London, the *New York Times*, or the *Manchester*

*Guardian*, nor a weekly journal such as the *New Statesman and Nation*, all of which devote considerable space to book reviewing in general and to articles on literary matters. All these have a children's book reviewing section and have permanent editors for this specialized area. The *Times* of London is in one way the most outstanding, with the *Guardian* closely matching it. The *Times* has two major supplements a year and may be used as an example of what can genuinely be called reviewing.

The point is worth underlining. Telling the plot of a story or listing the contents in a book of nonfiction is the least part of the genuine reviewer's art. It is more important to set a book within its genre, to discuss it comparatively with other books in the same genre, to assess the author's intention and see how well this has been carried out, to point out its strong and weak points, to make, in short, an evaluation. *Canadian Literature* does publish some genuine reviews of this kind, but elsewhere Canadian children's books seldom receive more than a descriptive annotation.

Even at the minimum level of descriptive annotation, the notice paid to children's books is discouragingly low. From 1965 to 1971 (albeit with some issues missing) *Maclean's* noted three children's books; *Chatelaine*, four; *Saturday Night* (checked only for August to December issues), two; *Canadian Literature*, seventeen; *The Canadian Author and Bookman*, thirteen; *University of Toronto Quarterly*, five; *Queen's Quarterly*, none; *Atlantic Advocate*, twenty-seven. Not all of the books noted were Canadian, and no one would be so chauvinistic as to suggest that they should have been. The literary periodicals such as *Canadian Literature* and *Canadian Author and Bookman* do concentrate on Canadian content, but the number of books reviewed is still small and the journals do not reach a mass audience. The *Atlantic Advocate* appears to be the only general periodical with a specific section for children's books and with one reviewer responsible for content and continuity of the section. But probably the regional nature of this periodical would inhibit its sales in other parts of Canada. It can only be assumed that the editors of the general, mass magazines such as *Maclean's* and *Chatelaine* need something startling and unusual to catch their interest. For example, *Maclean's* recently interviewed a young boy who had written a series of brief fantasies. Canadian children's books in general are not considered of national interest.

With respect to newspapers, the situation is little better. A check was made for the period 13-21 November 1970; this was Young Canada's Book Week, and it could be expected that notice of children's books would then be at its peak. In this period the *Winnipeg Free Press* published a couple of dozen notes written by children; the *Vancouver Province* had notes on six books; the *Victoria Daily Times* covered nine books; the *Vancouver Sun*, fifteen books, each of which was – the assumption is evident – farmed out for review by a teacher; the *Ottawa Citizen*, nothing. The *Victoria Daily Colonist* and the *Halifax Chronicle Herald* apparently do no regu-



lar book reviewing. The *Toronto Globe and Mail* was at the top of the list with sixty-one books annotated in the one issue for Young Canada's Book Week. It should be pointed out, however, that not all books reviewed were Canadian, and that Young Canada's Book Week is not primarily designed to focus on *Canadian* books. Rather it is intended to bring good children's books to the attention of adults. A check of these same newspapers for dates in June, July, and August 1970 revealed the fact that no books for children were included.

It is painful to describe how spotty, dreary, and ineffectual most of these book annotations are. Many have the usual adult condescension toward children and their books. For example, the reviewer of *Thursday's Child* by Noel Streatfield in the *Province* said:

The characters are as mechanical and predictable as paper dolls. However, most little girls will find it interesting . . .

Most of the reviewers sound as if they were discussing a supermarket product.

It is obvious that editors of our magazines and newspapers simply do not feel that children's books and/or Canadian children's books are important, or they assume that their readers are not interested. Unfortunately, such attitudes, even if ill-based, have the power of self-fulfilling prophecy. If no one notices the difference, it will hardly seem worth the effort to try for good writing rather than bad.

#### "CANADIANISM" IN CHILDREN'S BOOKS

We need Canadian books for children; no imported literature can or will tell us about our own country. Our children's books, more than books for adults, show what Canada and Canadians are like, what values we respect, how we look at ourselves today and at our past. Just as *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* tells us much about Victorian England, so children's books in Canada reflect many of the forces in our own society; theirs is a reflection in miniature, of course, but accurate and indicative.

Many Canadian children's books, even those that are otherwise mediocre, have been informed by a deeply felt response to the land and its history; in this respect the Canadian experience has been used by our writers successfully. But success has not been achieved without cost. In concentrating on the land itself, Canadian writers have tended to slight other aspects of our country, such as city life and the *mélange* of ethnic backgrounds. In favouring outdoor adventure and events of history as subjects, they have not done justice to themes of universal truth as they can be revealed in fantasy and other forms of fiction.

But even more, writers have used "Canadianism" as a prop, and so their books are contrived. A book is not Canadian because it is set in Toronto, or Sudbury, or along the British Columbia coast. Too many writers think that a few descriptive sentences give a book Canadian content. This raises a suspicion that our writers try

deliberately to be Canadian, presuming a serious pedagogical interest and concern. The school library market is the major one for children's books in this country and no doubt both writers and publishers feel that more business will come with Canadian themes. Our outstanding writers are not self-consciously Canadian, but our mediocre writers are. And so the majority of our writers try to explain and justify, rather than simply tell.

Creative writing will come on its own, or not at all. And anyway, a child who wants a "good story" cares little whether it emanates from England, Sweden, or France. Informational books, histories, and biographies, on the other hand, are necessary to an understanding of our national life. Here Canada's pervasive regionalism is something of a barrier; but that is something that Canadians in general should strive to overcome.

If we don't produce our own informational books, then someone else will preempt the market – notably American writers. A recent example is a book by Charles A. May called *Great Cities of Canada*, published in 1968. This is the only book of this exact type available and it would probably have been purchased in Canadian libraries because the author had written some sound books on Canadian animals. That it is dull, badly written, with too many facts per paragraph, could be overlooked. But it is filled with error – a result of hasty and careless research – and, worse still, it has, to a Canadian, an unacceptable tone. For example, the second paragraph of his chapter on Vancouver, Victoria, and British Columbia begins, "Some British Columbians say they would like to seek membership in the United States, but the majority prefer to remain loyal to Ottawa" – thus giving undue weight and implication to a very nebulous situation. And in introducing Montreal, he begins the description of one of our oldest, most fascinating, and cosmopolitan cities with the separatist movement. It must be admitted that there are no Canadian children's books that discuss these problems, but their treatment here is cavalier; more importantly, why should we accept the opinions of an outsider based on such scanty and superficial information? Another example of what we expose ourselves to by not having accurate, up-to-date information of our own is another American publication on the voyage of the *Manhattan* (certainly a topic of great interest to Canadians) called *The Northwest Passage*, by Keating Bern. The blurb reads thus: "But not until man reached the moon did his earthbound contemporaries sail through the ice-choked Northwest Passage and bring to reality the dream of transpolar commercial shipping." Perhaps it could be argued that the presence of the word "commercial" gives the statement some truth. But still and all the facts should be straight. The RCMP ship, *St. Roche*, which made the journey from west to east and east to west, is given four lines at the end of the book with incorrect dates, and the Norwegian ship which did it first is given half a line. Throughout this really magnificently produced and illustrated book, hardly any credit is given to the Canadian ice-breakers that accompanied the *Manhattan*.

We have done better with the lives of outstanding explorers, Indians, and fur-traders. For many years now the Great Stories of Canada series (Macmillan) have provided a break from the textbook approach to history and have delighted many children, and 1971 promised a gala year with the publication of the Oxford (Canada) series, Canadian Lives. These are paperback books, well illustrated and printed, and more importantly with sound, readable modern interpretations of the lives of such famous Canadians as John A. Macdonald, Wilfrid Laurier, Louis Riel, James Douglas, John Strachan.

This plea for "Canadianism" should not be confused with a narrow nationalistic approach to children's books. Nothing would be more defeating, since a bald parading of "Canadian virtues" could produce only chauvinism or cynical rejection. But many Canadian writers for children have trapped themselves into a rather self-conscious attitude and equate knowledge with teaching. Canadian writers should give themselves a dose of reading of the excellent books of other countries, where there is a pervasive feeling of a country but nothing explicit. In reading the books of Paul Berna (mystery stories for children) you soak up the atmosphere of Paris but there is scarcely a "set piece" passage of description in the whole book.

Canadian writers for children have also unfortunately avoided the great debates of our country and certainly have avoided anything that is modern. One is forced to the conclusion that only "safe" subjects are deemed publishable. Christie Harris with her books on the impact of the white civilization on the Indian, and Farley Mowat with his look at relations between white, Indian, and Eskimo are exceptions, and although both books are set in the safer past, they show that such subjects can be treated. But no Canadian children's book deals with Canada's French-English relations, ethnic groups, urban problems, modern schools, transient youth, strikes, etc., etc. And certainly few deal with women, past or present. However, the thought of a poor book on many of these delicate subjects makes one shudder more than the thought of having no books at all.

All children's books, as indeed all literature, reflect the country and the particular society that produced them. It is in this general way that we speak of American books, or Finnish books, or Canadian books, and we do not expect any one of them to give us an identical experience. The chief result we expect from a book is an *experience* flavoured by the writer's individual and national background. The more we know about the background, the deeper our appreciation can be. *Little Women* has had, indeed still has, a universal appeal as a story of family life. But it is informed by Louisa May Alcott's unconscious absorption of the New England life that was going on around her. She was the master of her material. Too many Canadian writers depend upon the external fact of Canadianism and use it to compensate for a lack of involvement in their subject and a lack of genuine literary talent. All this can be said of poor to mediocre writers in any country, but it shows up more in Canada because here so few books are being written and published.



## THE ECONOMICS OF PUBLISHING CHILDREN'S BOOKS IN CANADA

If a good manuscript came in tomorrow, I'd find a way to publish it. But the fact of the matter is that there won't be one tomorrow or the next day or the next. We just don't have a cadre of topnotch writers for children in this country.

In their [writers'] minds, children's stories are something you make up one night when you're babysitting and the kids all laugh and say, "Tell it again" (so they can stay up longer). Then you put it down on paper, have it published and make a million.

In our experience a published children's book based on an unsolicited manuscript is rare – about one every two years.

At the present time [name of publisher] is receiving children's manuscripts at an annual rate of about 150. Very few of these are publishable for a variety of reasons, literary or economic.

We attempted to develop Canadian material for children of elementary school age in Canada. This program was known as The Writing For Young Canada Program which we ran and financed in total from 1960 to 1967. Resulting from this program we published a total of ten anthologies . . . . The enclosed figures show a net loss on the total program of \$204,000.

All the domestic sales figures show that, without the export sales . . . none of these [children's] books could have been published economically for the Canadian market alone: even the top sales – 14,022 – were spread over thirteen years. It is quite out of the question to produce a modest initial run of 3,000 where these illustrated books are concerned – the price would be too far out of line. And yet, you will see from some of these figures that 3,000 would have been a reasonable printing quantity for a one-two-year domestic supply.

. . . what we have found most perplexing about this business of producing Canadian books for children is that notwithstanding the fact that practically every teacher and librarian one talks with bemoans the lack of suitable Canadian material, nevertheless school librarians all across the country go right on ordering American juveniles in preference to the Canadian product.

These replies from publishers who answered a questionnaire for this paper, related to the financial aspects of publishing Canadian children's books, indicate the basic unhappiness they feel at the economics of book publishing in Canada. Various themes can be discerned through this *mélange* of complaints. It is frequently forgotten that publishers get little or no profit from their trade book sales. There are some minor exceptions, of course, some major disasters and some strokes of good fortune. But the overall picture is of a cultural business in a state of attrition. More significant perhaps than the poor balance sheets are the notes of sadness, puzzlement, and frustration that seep through in the accompanying letters. The publishers were not asked for personal comments but from the many who made them there emerges a picture of a group of concerned people who do not merely regard Canadian children's books as commercial products. They are concerned about the scarcity of writing talent, the lack of publishable material, the general unawareness of what constitutes a good children's book. Humanly enough, they

feel that what they are able to do in our difficult, complex Canadian situation goes unappreciated and this feeling is not totally confined to financial return.

All these remarks are, of course, related to *trade* book publishing, not educational publishing. Trade books are fairly accurately equated with what one wants to read voluntarily as opposed to what one has to read in a formal educational situation. Without decrying the latter at all, it may be said that what children choose to read on their own may be more educational in the long run. So the importance of trade books for education as well as pleasure cannot be overlooked. On the basis of quantity, educational publishing appears to be in a more flourishing state than trade book publishing. Fourteen publishers reported 28 children's trade books published in 1970 as opposed to 171 educational; in 1969 the figures were 23 to 104, and in 1965, they were 22 to 66. If it could be suggested that these figures do not represent the total picture, they are backed up fairly accurately and certainly proportionately by other evidence, for example a count of books listed in *Canadiana*. Interestingly enough, figures show that trade books slightly outnumber educational publishing in Great Britain and the United States. In 1968 in the United States there were 3,874 children's trade books published as opposed to 2,210 textbooks; and in Great Britain 2,075 trade books as opposed to 1,671 textbooks (Unesco figures). In Canada for the same year Unesco reported 47 trade to 207 textbooks.

Trade book publishing has generally been associated with non-commissioned books. A writer writes and gets published eventually if his work is worth a risk. It would appear that the Canadian publisher of children's books has to act as his own agent. Of the few trade titles published in 1970, seventeen were commissioned; seventeen also were commissioned in 1969, but only four in 1965. It is more usual to have educational books commissioned, and here we appear to be in a fairly normal position with ninety-six commissioned in 1970 (two publishers accounted for sixty-nine).

As with its writing, Canada appears to be out of step with other English-speaking countries with respect to numbers of books published. Australia, for example, with a smaller population, more than matches our English-language publications per year.

The economics of publishing are as simple as those of any other commerce: there must, in the long run, be enough return to match all reasonable outlay, plus a little extra to provide incentive, and possibly capital for expansion. Publishing suffers, however, in comparison with other merchandising in large measure for two reasons: first, the interchangeability of parts in book production is virtually nil – even development costs (editorial work) for one title are of no significant benefit to any other title published by the same house; and, second, advertising does not work very well and demand for products cannot be manipulated in the same way as for cars or breakfast cereals.

If it is difficult for publishing in general to keep up with the economics of the modern world, the publishing of Canadian works for children is nearly impossible. The publisher of children's books must hope for an ultimate demand among the children who will read his product, but more immediately he must create a demand among the adults who will *buy* the books. Satisfying the latter will result in gratifying sales of most "good" *instructional* publications, but only the satisfying of the former will result in that most profitable of publishing ventures, the children's *classic*.

Immediately one can draw a comparison between the publishing of children's books in Canada and that in other countries. Where are the Canadian children's classics – the titles which keep a firm going and provide it annually with profits to use as capital in developing new children's authors? The question is rhetorical, there are so few. In fact, because so many early Canadian authors of note published with foreign firms, Canadian houses are not sharing in the publication profits, but are gaining only the usual agent's return on a number of the existing classics. The notable publishers of children's titles in Great Britain and the United States are still making money on J. M. Barrie's *Peter Pan*, A. A. Milne's *Winnie the Pooh*, E. B. White's *Charlotte's Webb*, Laura Ingalls Wilder's *The Little House in the Big Woods*, and so on. The lack of a backlist of Canadian classics compounds the difficulties inherent in the socio-geographic structure of Canada itself. A despondent observer once put it this way: "Can *any* publisher make it?"

Canadian publishers serving some fourteen million English-speaking people spread over more than four thousand miles of culturally distinct regions are forced to compete with British and American firms with vastly superior resources, markets, and capital.

We return to the basic economic facts of demand, price, and production order. To justify the highest price which will remain at all competitive with imported works in the retail market – perhaps six to seven dollars, retail, for a trade title not particularly complicated by much colour printing or unusual layout – it would appear that a first printing order of a children's book must be approximately three thousand copies. If all sold over a short period of time, the book would just break even. Only a second printing would bring profit. But what is the potential market for these three thousand copies? It consists of retail sales, sales to institutions (let us divide them into school libraries and other libraries), and export sales. School libraries in Canada number around 2,500; other libraries which might acquire the average children's title probably number fewer than a thousand at the most generous estimate. The export market appears to be very erratic, for the very good reason that in the face of the existing body of American and British writing for children, Canadian writing is almost bound to be rather regional in content.

The retail market is worth looking at in detail first. As already mentioned, most retail buying of children's books is of acknowledged classics. These are rarely



Canadian, although it is interesting to note that one such, *Anne of Green Gables*, has averaged sales of more than 20,000 copies a year over a long period. (Its publication rights are held in the United States!) Impulse buying usually leads the buyer to the inexpensive "quasi-books" – cut-up or colouring books, or other books to look at rather than to read. Finally, there is buying on grounds of familiarity – for example, Sesame Street books of TV fame – and how much of our cultural familiarity is of things Canadian?

Potential for increased retail sales exists, based on a better educated public more aware of the value of gifts for the mind, and a gradual build-up of Canadian titles which have paid off enough of their original investment to allow for the publication of inexpensive reprint editions. The home bookshelf market for good children's writing is being successfully invaded by British and American reprints selling at something like one dollar in Canada. When Canadian titles can be brought down to perhaps \$1.50, they will be competitive in this market, but not before. It will be a long while before there is any great number of Canadian titles whose popularity can justify reprinting in this price range.

Buying by institutions would, perhaps, support the publication program if every institution bought just one copy of each title offered. Of course, not all titles are equally "good" and it must be expected that some will be purchased by very few, indiscriminating, institutions. But it remains true that institutional purchasing, particularly in school libraries, is very erratic in Canada because of the lack of review media, already mentioned, and because of the lack of qualified school librarians to make discerning selection judgments quickly and to promote the effective use of multiple copies of the quality titles which do appear. There can be no question that the single market for Canadian children's titles which offers most promise for improvement is among the underdeveloped and haphazardly staffed school libraries of the country. If it is sometimes true that publishers can complain of too-rigid selection policies by librarians, it is also true that creative selection can lead to better sales of the titles which warrant it, thus hopefully encouraging the publication of more manuscripts of quality when they are found.

Of the potential for export, all that can be generally said is that it will improve as Canadian writers become less self-consciously regional and more universally relevant in the material which they clothe in a Canadian setting. Children's works are more truly international than any other, and although it will be a long, long haul, it may be expected that Canadian works will ultimately take their place in the world if only their existence can be encouraged at home. Specifically (and based upon a few examples) some outstanding books with less *obvious* Canadian content have sold enough to non-Canadian buyers to make up perhaps for poorer Canadian sales. In one case the export sales were 88.8 per cent of the total. Of course, the Canadian publisher will normally make less profit on export sales than on sales in Canada. On the other hand, two books of Indian legends – beautifully illustrated –

have sold only some four thousand copies over two years when it might be expected that every library in Canada would buy several copies. Here also export sales have been over fifty per cent.

The *total* potential market for children's titles is unlikely to grow significantly for some time. Demographic predictions show little increase in the number of children under fourteen years of age in Canada for the next ten or more years. If quantitative increase in sales is necessary, a market of the present size must be worked over more intensively and effectively. At present, the publishing of children's titles by Canadian houses is either directly or indirectly (through overheads absorbed, etc.) subsidized by the publishers themselves, using the profits they can make on other titles.

It may be questioned whether the publication of children's titles *must* be made viable as a separate function. After all, children's publishing may be considered a sort of loss-leader, on the assumption that a child "hooked on books" will buy far more books as an adult than were ever bought for him as a child. But the net effect of financial discouragement, title after title, on the children's publisher cannot be denied. If he gets neither direct financial return nor significant encouragement in other ways for his effort, he is easily tempted to spend his time and capital on the publication of other works which produce such rewards.

#### REWARDS FOR THE WRITER

The rewards for writing Canadian children's books are largely in the doing thereof. From the preceding section it is easy to see why, economically speaking, we have no full-time writers for children in Canada as one would find in England and the United States. Authors such as Rosemary Sutcliff, Hester Burton, and Lucy Boston in England, and writer-illustrators in the United States such as Maurice Sendak and McCloskey, have produced such a body of work that they could probably exist on their earnings. They have no Canadian counterparts.

Perhaps, just as important, there is little editorial help available to Canadian writers. It is doubtful if any Canadian publisher now employs a highly-trained, full-time editor for children's books and the one publisher who is now actively searching for one is finding few suitable candidates. People who would be excellent are already in top-paying jobs and reluctant to change, while we seem to have a dearth of young people who have had some experience in this line. The major publishing companies in England and the United States not only have a children's book editor, but a whole department where younger people can be trained. Under the present circumstances Canadian publishers may maintain, and with credence, that they cannot afford an editor solely for children's books. But it cannot be emphasized too strongly what a debilitating effect this has had on writing. Many writers, particularly young ones, may have the germ of an idea, but need construc-

tive criticism and help and discipline at this intermediate level. Certainly the publishers do what they can. The disaster that befell the Writing for Young Canada Program initiated by an imaginative publisher could in part be attributed to a lack of this long-range, consistent (and expensive) type of help. At least one Canadian publishing house gives strong editorial help to its children's writers and this has resulted in the strongest quality program of children's publishing in Canada. But this particular editor is responsible for all editing for his firm and so the quantity produced is minimal – one or two books a year. At least one of our prominent writers for children – Christie Harris – backs up these points. She prefers to be published in the United States because of the strong editorial help she receives there.

Monetary rewards in the form of prize money at any level in Canada are non-existent. With Canada's pervasive regionalism and provincialism it would seem logical to have prizes at this level – especially provincial. But this has not developed. The Governor-General's Award for the best Canadian children's book ceased in 1960. The Canadian Association of Children's Librarians offers only a medal, without prize money, and not until 1970 did it offer even a medal for illustration. At the international level substantial prizes do exist; but with little nurturing, Canadian writers can hardly meet the competition. Only Farley Mowat has made the honours list for the Hans Christian Andersen Award. This year no Canadian author has even been nominated. An illustrator – and an outstanding one – has, however, been nominated, reflecting the improvement in book production and illustration already mentioned.

It can be seen from the section on book reviewing that a Canadian author for children need not expect to have his work taken seriously by the review media. A brief descriptive annotation is hardly a reward for what may have been two years of work.

A further difficulty is that Canadian children's writers have no children's periodical press through which to try their talents or to pick up extra money. It is true that even Great Britain and the United States today have no general children's periodicals; but in both countries there was a strong such press at the beginning of the twentieth century, with its heyday in the nineteenth. And at least in these countries there is not only a strong tradition to draw on, but pieces that could be reprinted in anthologies. There were two Canadian juvenile magazines in the nineteenth century, short-lived and on the whole unexciting. It is doubtful if complete files of them even could be found, such as we have of the great American publication, *St. Nicholas Magazine*, and *The Boy's Own Paper* in England.

Neither Canadian radio nor television pays attention to children's authors and children's books. During Young Canada's Book Week a reviewer on the CBC may rush through a half a dozen brief comments on children's books, but that is all. Local radio and tv do somewhat better of course, but this is no compensation for the lack of national attention. Writers for children do not appear on talk programs,



interview programs, or educational programs. It can only be assumed that children's books and children's writers are considered neither newsworthy nor sensational enough.

In England and the United States there is great activity surrounding children's authors and their books. They are invited to lecture at universities, colleges of education, library schools, conferences, and so on. Canadian distances and travel costs often prohibit such invitations on the part of institutions here.

#### THE ROLE OF SCHOOL LIBRARIES

The newer concepts in education have already injected a note of vitality into the school library situation. Of course the word "newer" is to be understood as relative only. Most ideas about education have been around for a long time; any newness comes in their application to the education of masses of children.

These concepts may be briefly and oversimply described as: first, the education of the whole child (the school's responsibility for *all* the child's needs, not just intellectual development); second, individualizing learning (letting the child go at his own pace); and, third, personalizing learning (giving the child a choice in what he wants to learn). Although the rhetoric of education is still far ahead of its practice, there is a definite trend away from the teacher and the textbook as the sole instruments of learning. The use of diversified and supplementary texts is encouraged particularly in the area of social studies and reading; students are urged to use a wide variety of material rather than just a single article in an encyclopaedia. Textbooks have been improved. They often now appear in paperback, with bright illustrations and a more pleasing style. In British Columbia a trade book has even been adopted as a textbook – George Clutesi's *Son of Raven; Son of Deer*, a book of Indian tales by a B.C. Indian chief. There is no reason to suppose that this could not be done with others of our superior trade books, particularly in the field of history.

Because of the new concepts and programs, school libraries have been greatly improved by the acquisition of large amounts of material, chiefly books. The school agencies are the largest book buyers in Canada. Even so, it is difficult to establish just how many Canadian children's books are purchased, and in what quantities. When a publisher states that his "best-seller" Canadian children's book has had sales below four thousand, and this for a title in print for several years, the sad conclusion must be that sales to school libraries for the trade book publisher are still not all that great.

One reason may be that Canadian studies are not offered at every level of Canadian elementary education. For example, in British Columbia, Canada is studied at the grade four and five level – exactly the age group for which we have the least material. The books we have are more likely to interest children at the grade six and seven level. Another problem is that very few Canadian trade books are studied

in literature classes. Here the trend is to use American books. For example, one book read in class in grade seven was Marguerite L'Engle's *A Wrinkle in Time*, a book which, with the greatest kindness in the world, can only be described as poor to middling fantasy-cum-science fiction. Another book used was an American animal story, excellent of its kind, but not superior to the many first-rate Canadian animal stories.

Such overlooked opportunities, while irritating, are probably less important in the long run than the fact that school libraries have failed in their basic responsibility of making readers. There are not yet librarians enough in school libraries to unlock school library collections for children – in other words to provide reading guidance. There is a great emphasis on research projects – commendable enough in one sense – but the schools seem unable to foster a genuine love of the excitement for reading. A recent survey in the United States, of ten thousand children in grades two to twelve, indicates that the longer a child stays in school the less he is interested in reading for pleasure. This situation may help the educational book publisher, but it does not help the trade book publisher. With the rather “looser” approach to the textbook developing, even the educational publisher may be in more difficulty, or less inclined to take chances. There will be less necessity for a provincial school system to absolutely adopt a textbook, particularly in the social sciences and literature.

We must also recognize that at this particular point in time it is doubtful if any school library would be ready to purchase several copies of many Canadian trade books, considering the general content of Canadian children's books that has been already mentioned – the past, the out-of-doors, animals, hockey, etc., etc. The present reading trend is to favour the newer crop of “with-it” books – books that deal with dating, teen-age marriage, drugs, dropping out, and all the rest of it. The market here seems to be going to American publications, even though Australian and British writers on such subjects are better and their books cheaper. The American books are easier to read, look more flashy, have larger type and wider margins: in content, style, and format they are drawing close to the non-print media. Canadian publishers have to take some responsibility for dull-looking books in the past; in the present they are doing much better, but it is hardly to be expected that they can compete with lavish American productions, particularly in the picture book field. Money here seems to be no object – such books sell in Canada for six to seven dollars. (It is interesting to note that some reviewers complain about the price of children's books, although most of them cost less than a bottle of scotch.) Even with all these legitimate complaints about themes and production, it is still rather depressing to contemplate the fact that we are raising a generation of children who shy away from a page of solid type.

## CANADIAN REFERENCE AND INFORMATIONAL BOOKS FOR CHILDREN

Children's reference books did not develop until after the beginning of the twentieth century. Encyclopaedias were considered usable by adults only, and the general pattern in the schools was for their use by teachers who then transmitted their knowledge to children. Now there are encyclopaedias keyed to children themselves and designed specifically to answer their reference needs. Generally speaking, the subjects and topics included in these encyclopaedias are curriculum-oriented. Their makers use every technique and possible testing device to ensure as well that the vocabulary used and concepts included can be readily understood at certain grade levels.

Every school library and every children's department of public libraries has various sets of encyclopaedias; some schools would have two or three sets of each of several works. Sales of children's encyclopaedias per institution in Canada fall considerably short, however, of those in the United States – for example, every *classroom* in Texas has a set of Grolier's *New Book of Knowledge*, not merely every library. But even then, the school and library market generally account for only five to ten per cent of encyclopaedia sales, and Canada's home market, like the institutional one, is small. In view of these facts it is inconceivable that any Canadian publisher could produce an entirely Canadian encyclopaedia for children, either one covering Canadian topics only or a general one with emphasis on Canada. It cost the Grolier Company nine years and seven million dollars to produce its *New Book of Knowledge* for a total market ten to fifteen times the potential size of the Canadian market.

It should be acknowledged, however, that many American publishers of these expensive sets do take some of the needs and interests of Canada into account. For instance, the article on Canada in *The World Book Encyclopaedia* was written by D. F. Putnam, the outstanding Canadian geographer. In the *New Book of Knowledge* the article on Life was written by N. J. Berrill, the article on Lumber and Lumbering by Pat Carney, and the article on the Yukon by Pierre Berton, to name only a few outstanding Canadian contributors.

Still it seems sad that reference material that is used greatly each day in each elementary school across Canada should originate outside Canada. What is going to happen, for example, when the new "talking" cassette encyclopaedias appear on the market? Not only the written word but the spoken word will come from across the border into our schools and libraries.

Considering the size of market required to warrant the capital and time involved in the publication of encyclopaedias, their virtual non-existence in Canada is easy enough to explain. It is more difficult to get at the root of the lack of Canadian informational books in general for children. By "informational" is meant a complete book (not necessarily a long one) on a particular subject. Schools now encourage



and even require children to pursue a subject beyond a general encyclopaedic article – and quite commendably so. Subject interest books with colour and detail are now in great demand. Unfortunately, there is scarcely a Canadian title of this type. For example, we have no books on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and how it works, the National Film Board, or (until recently) the National Ballet. There are no children's books on modern artists or poets (although we have a growing number on hockey players). We have no recent books for young children on the role of the police, the postman, the social worker – all of whom should not simply be equated with their American counterparts. We lack historical material particularly on the period just before and after Confederation, and on our immediate past. We lack trade picture books for the pre-school child and beginning reader. Here we depend almost exclusively on the stunning American, British, and European imports. We have only one book on unusual but minor Canadians, Herbert Wood's *Forgotten Canadians*, and we have no book on Canadian "characters" such as Judge Begbie, Bob Edwards, and Ma Murray. Saddest of all, one tries in vain to find good biographies at children's level of Canadian women. Not even the work and courage and enlightenment of our marvellous pioneer women has been acknowledged. When one thinks of them in the backwoods and on the prairies struggling to bring and keep going the essences of civilization in a desperate situation – hanging lace curtains, bringing in pianos over corduroy roads, reading aloud at night to their families – this is perhaps not sensational stuff, but it certainly is dramatic and of human interest. And, of course, modern women hardly appear in our books at all.

All of this should not discourage us, but should be accepted as an exciting challenge to "get going."

#### NON-PRINT MATERIALS

There are two major schools of thought about non-print or audio-visual materials. One is that they are an end and a finished product in themselves. That is, a film or filmstrip or a record can say something equally well, if not better, than printed material. It is, in other words, a genuine experience in its own right and any comparison with printed material is pointless. The opposite school of thought is that non-print materials should be used as a complement and a supplement to the printed word. It should encourage one to pursue any topic more deeply through books. This school of thought admits, more than the first, many of the inherent difficulties in using non-print materials – their expense, lack of mobility and flexibility, the hardware needed, the lack of first-rate software, the need for repair and cleaning of most of this type of material, the length of time it takes to set up a program, and so on.

Whatever the theory espoused, it is clear that the school system, and to a lesser

degree public libraries, are spending more and more money in this area. In the school system the money is not always spent through the school library: many audio-visual departments are quite separate from the library, although the trend is towards amalgamation of materials; also there are usually separate budgets. But this does mean there is competition for the educational and library dollar, and more importantly competition for the child's interest and attention.

There are now studies under way on the use and effectiveness of audio-visual material. Until their findings become available, we do not know in what particular situation a child learns better – from a film or a filmstrip or a tape or a book. There is no doubt that audio-visual material may interest a child more, particularly at the first encounter, because it is less demanding than print and takes less effort to absorb and understand. It is a more passive medium. There is some evidence that audio-visual materials are of great help in the education of poor readers, reluctant readers, retarded readers, and readers from low economic and educational home backgrounds where printed materials have never been available nor are likely to be. And if one can get an idea across, does the form it takes make any difference?

As far as the reviewing of audio-visual material goes, the situation is even worse than for books. Reviews are rare, and only infrequently are they evaluative and comparative. As a result, purchasing decisions are often blind and more money can be wasted this way than on books. For example, there is a National Film Board filmstrip on the problem of the reserve Indian fitting into Canadian society. It is excellent – short, ironically humorous, honest, and even young children will get the point. There is another on a French-Canadian legend – nice pictures, and a one-line sentence underneath each picture, but with absolutely no French-Canadian flavour or story-telling quality at all, and any story-teller, recounting it in person, could do a one hundred per cent better job. Lacking the guidance of reviews, the buyer is as likely to select the latter as the former. The major difficulty, however, is that there are simply too few high-quality films in the first place. Many audio-visual experts are “nuts-and-bolts” people, and we have not yet brought ourselves to the level in visual literacy that we seek to maintain in printed literacy. Surely the point is to make discriminating viewers and listeners, just as with books it is to make discriminating readers.

But at this point, the non-print world does pose an additional threat to Canadian writers and publishers, exactly at a time when the cards seem already stacked against them.

#### THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY

The National Library of Canada has an important role in the intellectual and literary development of the country and along with the National Science Library gives leadership and help to all libraries in the country.

Very few of the great national libraries of the world have placed any special emphasis on children's books beyond collecting them as part of national copyright and deposit laws. The great exception to this is the Library of Congress, which appointed a children's specialist five or six years ago. Already the influence of this appointment can be felt; even in Canada, children's librarians have been grateful for the additional information coming from this office. Many of the Eastern bloc countries – East Germany and Bulgaria are typical examples – have centralized government services for children's books, including publishing, distribution, and technical services. Indeed these countries take services to children much more seriously than do the Western democracies.

Canada is no exception to this generalization. Only one province – Ontario – has a provincial children's librarian available for help and consultation. As a result of this appointment the Ontario Provincial Library Service publishes *In Review* (the outstanding review periodical for Canadian children's books), carries out public relations functions for children's books, holds workshops and in-service training programs in this area, and all in all injects a feeling of excitement and knowledge into the Ontario library scene.

The National Library of Canada has been asked to do more for the development of Canadian children's literature. Last year the Canadian Association of Children's Librarians requested the appointment of a children's librarian at the national level. It is heartening to report that such an appointment is being seriously considered. In concentrating exclusively on Canadian children's books, such a person can accomplish much. There is a long-neglected role for them on the international scene, particularly through our embassies abroad. The translation of English-language children's books into other languages and particularly into French also has great potential: there are indeed two solitudes between English-Canadian and French-Canadian children's books, and translation is urgently needed. There is also a need for a clearing house at the national level for publicity and promotion of Canadian children's books. The appointment of a national children's librarian could do much to create the services that would strengthen children's book publishing in Canada.

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# *The Marketing of Educational Books in Canada*

S. J. TOTTON

Every question in commercial book publishing is in a sense a marketing question. Marketing is, for example, closely related to editorial decisions, for books must be acceptable to the market if a publishing house is to succeed, just as they must meet common standards of physical attractiveness and quality. Indeed, the very existence of a publishing house will depend on how effectively its methods of marketing books produce the revenue it needs to operate.

From time to time, there is criticism, overt or implied, of the whole concept of marketing books. Marketing, it is said, is an unnecessary expense that adds to the cost of books, especially textbooks; all that is needed is an efficient distributing system managed by the state, the ultimate purchaser of most textbooks and many other books. Such a fundamental criticism cannot be ignored, although it leads quickly to broad and complex questions that are beyond the scope of this paper. To sum them up briefly, publishing cannot be abstracted from the rest of the economic and social system in which we live; and if one accepts as a postulate the principle of competition in business and the right of the entrepreneur to decide the manner in which he will produce and sell his products, there is surely a rationale for marketing.

The marketing of books has a long and honourable tradition in English-language publishing. By the end of the seventeenth century there were booksellers not only in England and Europe but also in the New World. During the years 1669 to 1690 Boston had twenty booksellers, mainly selling educational and religious books. One might say that the educational representative came on the publishing scene at this time for, as Carl Bridenbaugh noted in *Cities in the Wilderness* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), these booksellers frequently, perhaps like Cotton Mather, employed "an old Hawker" to "fill the Country with . . . Books."

Disputes about the methods of marketing have also an established place in the history of publishing. In Canada, by the second half of the nineteenth century such

differences were well established. Seven years after Confederation, Egerton Ryerson, the Chief Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Goldwin Smith, president of the Ontario Teachers' Association, were engaged in acrimonious argument about the value of marketing school books through a book depository, thereby, incidentally, laying the foundation for a controversy about educational marketing that has continued pretty well unabated until today. By that time, too, independent publisher-businessmen in competition with one another were issuing books for the schools. Each publisher developed methods of marketing that he thought would give him the greatest profit.

This paper assumes that profit is still the goal of marketing and considers the methods publishers are using in Canada to reach it. It recognizes that the maximum profit does not always go to the publisher who sells the most books, but to the publisher who has the greatest margin between the revenue he obtains from the sale of books and the costs he has incurred in producing and selling them.

Many factors, including supply and demand and the costs of production and promotion influence book marketing methods. This essay will refer to these factors when they bear on particular techniques of marketing. It will confine itself to examining methods used to market English-language educational books, although there is of course also a vital French-language publishing community in this country. Certain marketing principles apply to both school and college publishing and the two will generally be considered together. At times, they will be examined separately because of differences in application of techniques.

#### CATEGORIES OF BOOKS

When a Canadian publisher is planning a marketing program for educational books, he must consider not only the environment in which they are to be sold but also the types of books in his list. Because every title published has its own unique character, it is difficult to put books in categories. It is useful, however, to have some grouping, and this paper will refer to four types: basic textbooks, reference texts, general references, and trade books. This nomenclature is by no means universal, but it can be used for convenience if one remembers that in practice the divisions are not rigid and that books can fall into more than one category.

The *basic textbook* is a book published to be used as a standard work for the study of a particular subject, or a manual of instruction. It is intended for use by students and at the school level is usually purchased with public funds. Most people think of a textbook when the term "educational book" is used. The publisher has the needs of the educational market constantly in mind when forming both editorial and marketing (including pricing and discount) policies for it. The *trade book* is aimed at readers in general and is the type of book found in bookstores and reviewed in the press. Somewhere between textbooks and trade books are reference texts and general references. A *reference text* is published primarily for use in educational institu-

tions and may often be used in conjunction with a text, tapes, or a film; like the basic text, it is frequently purchased in numbers by a school and is usually not in the stock of general bookstores. One example might be a collection of sources related to a social studies course. By contrast, a comprehensive social history in many volumes, which would be carried by bookstores, reviewed by the media, and purchased by members of the reading public, might be bought by a school in only one set. Such a series of books might be called *general reference*.

Educational institutions use all four types of books, and a publisher's marketing policies will be greatly influenced by the percentage of each type in his total list. A publisher who publishes only textbooks will emphasize certain marketing techniques more than a publisher who handles all four kinds.

#### LISTING OF APPROVED BOOKS AND MARKETING

The educational environment is changing constantly and some of the changes have inevitably affected the marketing of books. For example, approval of books by departments of education has altered, and a publisher who once marketed a text as the sole authorized book in a subject now must try to sell it as one of a number so approved. This type of policy is reflected in the 1971 edition of *Circular 14 Textbooks*, issued annually by the Ontario Department of Education, which states:

The system of multiple listing of approved textbooks attempts to maintain flexibility in the selection of titles in order to accommodate individual differences among pupils . . . in certain subjects . . . the board would satisfy the requirement to provide textbooks 'in numbers sufficient for the use of pupils' by supplying class sets, each of which would serve for several classes. Such a situation might exist if it were decided to use a number of reference books instead of a single prescribed textbook.

In Ontario, there are nine series of basic readers approved for use in the primary division. The same situation prevails in other provinces: in Alberta, for example, six series are authorized. Similar illustrations might be taken from any level, for at all grades there is considerable freedom of choice. These multiple listings make it essential for the publisher to sell his book to each school or, at least, to each board of education.

Ontario, with a projected enrolment in 1971-2 of 2,040,000 elementary and secondary school students, is the largest market in Canada for English-language educational books. In 1967, the last year for which the figures on total book sales to Ontario schools are available, its school boards spent \$17,136,825 on textbooks and \$6,765,261 on library books from a budget of \$48,015,000 for supplies and other expenses for instruction in day schools. In 1969 that budget for instructional supplies had risen to \$87,885,000. A majority of the English-language publishers in Canada have their head offices in Ontario, and the greater part of Canadian educational marketing efforts are directed towards reaching the purchasing power of that province's schools.

Circular 14 determines to a great degree the direction taken by elementary and



secondary school publishing in Ontario. This publication lists the textbooks that are approved for purchase in Ontario, approximately 1,650 listings. In selecting the textbooks for each area of the curriculum, the Department of Education chooses only books that have been written by Canadians and produced in Canada, although a foreign book may be listed if no suitable Canadian text is available. Without special permission from the Department of Education, a school cannot use a textbook that is not listed in Circular 14.

A school board receives from the Ontario Department of Education a payment, based on enrolment with an equalization formula for different areas of the province, for money it spends on Circular 14 textbooks or other instructional materials. Until 1968, another system was in effect that gave grants that could be used only for books. Some publishers prefer that system because they feel it acted as a more direct stimulus to book purchasing by school boards.

An educational publisher in Ontario could publish successfully without having his books listed on Circular 14, but his range of publishing would be limited. Circular 14 does not list textbooks in areas of the curriculum where any of a wide range of publications might be appropriate for use and a prescribing committee would have difficulty in selecting a single book that was suitable for and acceptable to a wide range of classes – for example, in English literature. A Canadian publisher might concentrate on publishing books for such courses; if he did, he would, of course, be free of the restrictions of a prescribing committee. But the publisher might also find that liberty accompanied by the loss of the distinct marketing advantages, principally its province-wide circulation, afforded by Circular 14. In addition, if he published only books for which there were not prescriptions, he would be cutting himself off from a wide range of basic subjects such as mathematics, thus severely limiting his development as an educational publisher.

All the other provinces have lists comparable to Circular 14, although they differ in detail. For example, the circular for Saskatchewan lists textbooks and references for elementary and high school courses. For the books they purchase from such lists, school boards are reimbursed by the departments of education concerned.

Departments of education also issue lists of selected titles compiled by committees of school librarians. In Ontario, for example, there are the Primary (p2), the Junior (j2) and Intermediate (i2) lists, and other provinces have similar compilations. Many librarians feel that the necessity for such lists has diminished as the number of trained librarians in the schools has increased, and that the considerable influence they have had on purchasing is declining, but certainly in the past it was very important to obtain provincial listings for any book a publisher wished to sell to school libraries.

As an alternative or supplement to provincial lists, some city boards of education have their own compilations from which selections are made by schools, especially at the elementary level where there are fewer librarians.

After a publisher has secured approval for his books (text and library) from a provincial department of education, he has to sell his list at the local level in competition with the books of other publishers and with the growing range of audio-visual materials (principally from the United States).

#### ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL MARKETING

Canadian educational institutions are the major purchasers of books in Canada and it is unlikely that any Canadian publishing house can flourish without the market they provide, not only for textbooks but also for general books. It is significant that when enrolments and educational purchasing soared, Canadian publishing boomed, and when the first shocks of cutbacks in educational purchasing were felt the industry was troubled. As Canadians we may be tempted to credit the rise of national consciousness associated with 1967 for the considerable increases in Canadian book purchasing, but it is probably more realistic for us to examine the hard facts of the enrolments in these years that necessitated a large diversion of public funds to educational materials.

From 1965 to 1970 in Ontario alone, elementary school enrolments rose to 1,465,000 from 1,320,000 and secondary school enrolments rose to 557,000 from 410,000. At the same time post-secondary enrolments were increasing; between 1959-60 and 1969-70, attendance at all Canadian universities in effect trebled to approximately 300,000 full-time students. One can yet only guess what effects the decline in elementary enrolments are having on Canadian publishing and what will be the future results of any slackening in total school enrolments if there is not a compensating increase in the universities and colleges.

There are several reasons why the school markets have attracted Canadian publishers. One is, of course, their size. Another is that books for schools, textbooks and trade books, are purchased from public funds and bulk purchasing by boards and provinces simplifies accounting and servicing. In addition, until recently at any rate, school publishing had reasonably stable criteria to use in predicting requirements.

Traditionally, the greatest source of revenue in Canadian publishing has been the sale of textbooks to elementary and secondary schools. In the last few years, however, a number of factors have made it more difficult for the Canadian publisher to realize the profit he wishes from this area. The effects of inflation have naturally increased manufacturing, marketing, and administrative costs. In addition, some changes in educational practice have also added to the cost of marketing. One of these is the decentralization that requires more intensive regional marketing. Another, at least for textbook publishers accustomed to large bulk orders for single titles, is the trend to the use of a variety of books rather than of a few basic textbooks, with consequent increases in the expenses of marketing and service.

The increasing application of certain technological developments to education

has challenged the sovereignty of the textbook among instructional materials and has cut into educational funds. For many years textbooks co-existed peacefully with audio-visual materials, but in recent years they have had to meet the new challenges of teaching machines, classroom applications of computers and data-processing, photocopying, printouts from data banks, and various combinations of these new methods of disseminating information. Enough has been written and said about photocopying and information retrieval systems that we need only note the necessity of harmonizing two justifiable but apparently contrary needs, that of the publisher to obtain compensation for the material that saw the light of day because of his investment, and that of the school or college instructor and his student to have quick access to the body of knowledge with which they are concerned.

Canadian book publishers are not alone in facing these problems. Other difficulties are, however, peculiar to Canada, or at least to the Canadian publisher who lacks a foreign parent company. These are closely connected with the Americanization of our society and the powerful thrust of American ideas in education.

Some of the books schools want to use are not available to Canadian publisher-agents. In a subject such as secondary school physics, the pssc physics program from the United States is generally used across Canada; the materials from it are not actually approved in Ontario but the text is listed for use in "courses leading to the Honour Graduation Diploma," a listing which presumably reflects the requests of teachers. In practice a Canadian publisher can secure rights to books from the publicly-funded American curriculum projects, in subjects such as chemistry, biology, physics, and earth science, only through a United States publisher – a not unreasonable situation considering the degree to which American taxpayers have supported the projects. Usually these texts have been published by the large American publishers, who have Canadian subsidiaries. There is, then, little if any chance of a Canadian publisher-agent having these books. Schools wishing to implement these new courses will probably want the American materials as soon as they are available rather than wait for a Canadian book that utilizes the findings when it is permissible to do so. Indeed, some Canadian schools will have participated in the experimental program of these u.s. projects and will be anxious to move to the next stage.

The use of foreign texts in Canadian schools is by no means confined to the implementation of American national curriculum studies. There are countless other u.s. titles from which schools can choose, and they may prefer some of these to Canadian publications. The foreign books can reflect popular trends in American education earlier than Canadian texts and, because of the influence on Canadian education of American precepts and examples, this can be a marketing advantage. It is a touch of irony that Canadian publisher-agents, who may have helped foster this attitude by their activity in promoting American texts, now find that the percentage of popular foreign texts available to them is naturally decreasing as Ameri-



can publishers form their own Canadian companies.

American texts are used in all provinces, although few are listed officially in Ontario. In the provinces of western Canada, where there are relatively large markets, U.S. texts have made considerable headway. This has taken place despite the marked interest of western educators in indigenous publications: two western provinces, Manitoba and British Columbia, pioneered, after all, in the teaching of Canadian literature in schools, and there are similar examples in the other western provinces. In educational systems apparently so favourably disposed to Canadian materials it is surprising to see that so many of the approved textbooks are American, used either in their original form or in "revised Canadian" editions.

Is one reason perhaps that there may be some justification for the western Canadian comments that by "Canadian" texts Ontario publishers mean "Ontario" texts? To that question there is no indisputable answer. Certainly Ontario publishers can point to many books written by western authors, yet they may indeed have appeared at times to concentrate on the large Ontario markets, and to be more interested in expanding their markets for Ontario books or for their foreign books than in meeting the needs of western Canada. The publishers might argue in turn that the potential market in a western province with central authorization may not warrant much speculative publishing. On the other hand westerners could point out that a Saskatchewan educational publishing house carried on a business publishing books primarily intended for western Canadian schools at a time when enrolments were smaller than they are now.

Textbooks are by no means the only books sold to schools. The books bought by school libraries make up a sizable portion of sales. As we have seen, purchases of school library books constituted approximately fourteen per cent of the budget of Ontario schools in 1967 for books and instructional supplies. Between then and 1969 that budget rose to \$88 million and in those two years there was an increasing emphasis on the use of supplementary books. We can, then, assume that the expenditure on school library books in one province alone is considerably in excess of seven million dollars, and is a fairly large percentage of all the money Canada spends on trade and reference books. School libraries purchase mainly general trade books or references and text references, although a small portion of the budget may be spent on textbooks not prescribed in the particular school. To a considerable degree libraries purchase titles that are related to topics in the curriculum (such as biographies for certain history courses), but they do not confine themselves to this for they are well aware of the importance of leisure reading in the educational development of young people.

In general, books for the elementary and secondary levels must be marketed to two categories of purchasers: schools or school boards in Ontario and to a degree in other provinces, and provincial book bureaus that purchase a large percentage of the books used in the schools in their provinces.

## POST-SECONDARY MARKETING

Canadian colleges and universities provide another market for the four main types of books, and one that has grown significantly in the last decade as increasing numbers of students have continued their education past secondary school. In 1960-1 there were 113,900 students in Canadian universities; in 1970-1 there were 309,484. In addition, where in 1960 there had been only a handful of other Canadian institutions of post-secondary education, located in the major cities, ten years later there were more than one hundred community colleges. In Ontario alone, the twenty colleges of applied arts and technology spread over more than fifty campuses with 30,382 full-time students and 60,000 part-time students, besides an enrolment of over 6,693 at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute. Other courses were carried on outside schools and colleges, for example in the hospital schools of nursing that enrolled approximately 26,000 students in 1969-70.

Although school and college marketing have much in common, different conditions call for different applications of common principles. The university instructor, for example, is free to prescribe the book he wishes, irrespective of price (although he must consider student reaction), and he can prescribe it when he wishes, despite protests from publishers and bookstores about lack of notice, but he cannot guarantee how many of his students will buy it. A school administrator, working within the limits of municipal and provincial budgets, does not have this freedom of time and price, but he is in a better position to estimate how many copies he will need. This and other differences affect purchasing policies and, therefore, publishers' marketing techniques.

Historically, Canadian publishers' college departments have been concerned principally with the marketing of foreign publications, mostly from the United States, designed for use in universities. That is not to say that they have sold only foreign publications and certainly one should not minimize the recent growth in Canadian college publishing, which now is estimated by publishers to constitute over one-third of college sales, nor fail to recognize the possibility of indigenous college publishing winning an even greater share of the market. But whether a Canadian publishing house is Canadian-owned or the subsidiary of a foreign publisher, the sale of foreign texts and references is the base on which its college department has developed. It is not surprising, therefore, that American techniques of college marketing are prevalent in Canada. One finds on both sides of the border the same intensive detailing, heavy distribution of complimentary copies, and even the same terminology.

Next to elementary and secondary schools, universities have the largest enrolments in Canada, and it is to them that most of the college marketing effort is directed. Most active are publishers with basic college textbooks; they want individual instructors to prescribe their books for purchase by students, and there is considerable competition for text adoptions. As the Canadian university market

has expanded, more publishers have tried to sell their books in it, and as a result there are more Canadian-based college publishers.

Some changes taking place in higher education will likely continue to influence the marketing of college books. One is the increasing use of audio-visual methods of instruction, although at present this is more noticeable in the United States than in Canada. Another, as in the schools, is the rapid dissemination of information by processes such as photocopying and printouts from data banks. A third is the use, especially in the humanities and social sciences, of a number of general or trade books in addition to or in lieu of a basic textbook.

College publishers, like their school counterparts, have also had to contend with rising production, administrative, and marketing costs. In addition the numbers of free or complimentary copies to instructors have been rising rapidly, as have the quantities of unsold books returned by bookstores. These conditions have combined with uncertain quantities, wide prescriptions, and late text decisions to seriously weaken the economic health of college publishing.

"Community colleges" is a term that loosely describes a wide variety of post-secondary institutions that do not grant degrees. The largest enrolments in such colleges are in Ontario (the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology) and in Quebec (the CEGEPS set up under the General and Vocational College Act). Publishers have adapted the general techniques of college marketing to the special needs of these post-secondary institutions. Although marketing to them is generally carried out by college departments, there is some overlap with school departments. One reason is that courses in community colleges vary widely in level as well as in nature. For some courses a college textbook might be used; for others, for example a retraining program, a secondary school text might be applicable.

Because community colleges attempt to provide courses that are especially suited to the communities in which they are placed, there is no uniformity of curriculum and a book is unlikely to be authorized in a number of colleges. Although Canadian publishers have shown interest in publishing community college textbooks, the diversity of courses has presented a serious obstacle because the market for any one book is limited. Some indigenous books have been published for certain courses, but publishers have had to rely heavily on imports.

For some years, teachers' colleges training elementary school teachers have purchased college textbooks for their courses and references and general books for their libraries. College departments of publishing houses have, therefore, actively marketed books in them. Representatives of the publishers' school departments have also called on college staff because of their close connection with elementary education. Now there is a decided trend towards incorporating elementary teacher training into Canadian universities. This change does not indicate the loss of a market, but rather a shift – indeed, perhaps an expansion, because the general pattern has involved a lengthening of the period of academic preparation.



The marketing of books published to meet the needs of professional courses such as law or medicine is highly specialized. A publisher of such books generally has a special marketing department for them which operates in much the same way as a college department, with some modifications for special conditions.

Another type of specialized publisher is the university press issuing scholarly works. Within the academic community there is a demand for these books and to meet it university presses adapt the general principles of marketing to their needs. On the whole they rely more heavily on direct mail, catalogues, and journal advertising to promote sales than do commercial publishers.

The publisher of a Canadian college book has to give special attention to its marketing. When the book is a text for a subject such as Canadian history he will realize that in many universities the course will be at a senior level with limited enrolments and that, therefore, he can afford to lose few, if any, adoptions. For the same reasons, when the book is a paperback reference he will have to depart from general North American practice for this type of book and, in effect, treat it almost as if it were a textbook to try to secure multiple purchases and establish the book in the universities. If his book deals with a subject of international interest, for example the physical or natural sciences, the publisher may find that he still has to overcome in the academic community some conservative uncertainty about Canadian authorship and publication.

These problems raise the question whether the publisher may not be violating a basic rule of marketing by spending more to promote a book than potential sales justify. To that question there is no neat and elegant answer applicable to all publishers. Each must work out his own, which will be closely related to the motives that prompted the publishing decision. The realization of an immediate profit on the book may not have been dominant. A publisher might consider publication of an indigenous book one step toward consolidating the position of his company in Canadian publishing and thereby perhaps improving its possibilities for profit on the overall list. Or he might consider the lack of adequate immediate profit on one book to be outweighed by possible future benefits if it helped to establish his company as a leading supplier of a growing market for Canadian books.

One factor that would probably be considered in any such publishing decision is whether possible future university enrolments indicate market growth. A projection prepared for the Economic Council of Canada in 1969 indicated that full-time university enrolment in Canada might be 560,000 by 1975 and 750,000 by 1980. Although the university increases generally predicted for 1971-2 did not materialize, there is still the possibility that the upward trend may resume and that publishers will have an expanding market.

Present publishing patterns in Canada appear to indicate a general trend toward indigenous publication not only of books but also of other instructional materials, with a consequent increased activity in the college marketing of them.

## THE MARKETING STAFF

Although every part of the house is in some way involved in decisions that affect the marketing of its books, publishers usually consider the marketing staff to be the sales and promotion departments and their support staff. Central to the marketing staff of an educational publisher are the representatives, and their selection and training are of extreme importance.

Although there is no set of universally-accepted personality traits expected in an educational representative, a publishing house will hope to find certain qualities in a candidate for school or college work: an interest in books and education, an ability to work with people, a sense of responsibility that will lead him to discharge his duties when not under direct supervision, the sort of temperament that would enable him to work efficiently when he may be separated from the security of home and the central office for extended periods of time, a flexibility that will assist him in adapting readily to changing course patterns in education, and that elusive quality referred to as "a sense of business." The company will also probably look for evidence of a willing ear, patience, and perseverance, for the man or woman who wants to make just one visit to an office and come out with an order will encounter frustration in educational publishing. Although school and college publishing have much in common there are differences between the two and certain qualifications are more likely to be expected in one branch than another. In school publishing, for example, teaching experience is an invaluable asset and a good percentage of representatives have taught.

That is an imposing list of requirements. Naturally every publisher does not find all of them in every representative, but one of the surprising things about book publishing is the frequency with which he does encounter many of them. Most, if not all, publishing representatives have had post-secondary education. Many have had university training, usually in the humanities, social sciences, or business administration. A number have postgraduate and professional training and some have graduate degrees. The majority are men, but women have also been successful as representatives.

The salary an educational representative will earn will be fairly close to that of a teacher with comparable experience. As he continues in publishing, and assuming that he is successful, his salary will probably rise at about the same rate as a teacher's, though his ceiling salary may be higher, especially if his responsibilities within the firm increase.

The training a representative receives in a publishing house is designed for his development in four areas: knowledge of books, understanding of professional education, familiarity with all phases of publishing, and comprehension of and skills in marketing techniques as related to book publishing. All four are important and the first, a knowledge of books, is really in effect a core subject. Not surpris-

ingly, educational representatives almost invariably have a working knowledge of the world of books when they enter publishing. Many are graduates from courses in the humanities and social sciences where there has been an emphasis on books and reading; often a special interest in books has led them to publishing. They will find that they must not only retain but increase this familiarity, for quite rightly the teachers they meet will expect them to know books, almost as one would expect carpenters to know wood or jewellers gems. In addition, they must acquire specialized, detailed understanding of the books they will be selling and of the competing books of other houses. The extent of information that college representatives must have is considerable, especially if their company is a Canadian agent for a number of foreign publishers.

Representatives learn a great deal about their own and competing books by in-house training within their own department and others, and this will usually be climaxed by intensive sales conferences. In much the same way, they will acquire information about professional education, publishing, and marketing. They will also gain at least a working knowledge of editorial and production methods, uses of catalogues and circulars, and general accounting, invoicing, and shipping procedures of their own houses.

In addition to in-house training, representatives participate in professional education programs in the industry. The most popular of these is carried out by the Canadian Association of Publishers' Educational Representatives. This organization holds seminars and at least once each year conducts a quite ambitious workshop with a number of speakers, usually including a provincial director of curriculum or some other leading educator. Courses and seminars in general publishing carried on by the Canadian Book Publishers' Council are also available, but because they are not synchronized with travelling schedules they are not used by representatives as extensively as the CAPER programs. Some firms also arrange for representatives to attend courses in subjects such as education, business, or graphic arts related to their present or future work.

The promotion department can contribute much to the success of a marketing program. It produces the materials with which the representatives work or that reinforce their efforts – display materials, catalogues, circulars, space advertising – and the quality and timing of these materials are extremely important in any marketing program. The promotion staff of an educational publishing house must have a good working knowledge of the graphic arts and a familiarity with the requirements of the educational market to which the materials go. It must work smoothly in co-operation with the editorial and sales departments to ensure that promotional material projects the salient points of the books published and both assists and supplements the sales program. The department must also have good budgeting practices; a publisher cannot afford to have a promotion department that spends its budget too early or too late.



It is difficult to find people who can come to the publisher with all the necessary knowledge and skills required for educational promotion. Generally a publisher will settle for candidates who have some of them and will expect to teach the others by in-service training within the company, and by courses conducted by the CBCP or organizations such as the Editorial and Book Promotion Club or by the extension programs of institutions such as the University of Toronto.

Because administrative structures differ from company to company, there is no universal pattern of organization for school promotion. Some companies have distinct school promotion departments, some combine college and school, some may have trade, college, and school in one department. It is impossible to know which system is best, but it would seem that with the complexity of modern education, the third type of arrangement would require very exceptional people.

The successful marketing of books, like many business operations, is the result of the co-operative work of many people. The support that an office staff gives educational representatives can to a great degree determine how successful a marketing program will be. If, for example, when a representative working to secure basic adoptions requests his office to send sample copies and they arrive quickly, his call is reinforced by the books. If there is a delay, much of the work he has done may be nullified. There are countless other ways in which an office staff can facilitate the process of ensuring that schools buy a publisher's books. If the central staff sends salesmen, regularly and quickly, important correspondence about their areas and such information as details of new and forthcoming books, alterations in schedule, and price changes, and if the company's general service to customers is satisfactory, the whole sales program is strengthened.

Careful consideration must be given to the degree of reporting expected between representatives and their office. There is the temptation to acquire all possible information from the men in the field or to use them for tasks that really do not require their specialized training, for example the gathering of addresses for mailing lists. Conversely, with automatic equipment producing data constantly, there is always the risk of sending too much to the salesmen. As a result, representatives may spend far too much of their time writing and reading reports to act effectively in marketing books and securing new manuscripts. Important also, especially for novice representatives, is the establishing of general guidelines on such matters as the amount of time that should be given over to the securing of manuscripts as compared to selling books.

#### PROMOTING AND SELLING EDUCATIONAL BOOKS

The six main techniques Canadian publishers employ to sell educational books are: calls by educational representatives; distribution of free copies; putting on of exhibits; issuing of catalogues; direct mail advertising; and space advertising in edu-

cational journals. Each of the six will be discussed in detail in the following pages.

In planning an effective marketing program to achieve the maximum profit, a publisher must ascertain what his resources are and utilize them so as to emphasize the methods most suitable for his purposes. The six techniques are used in all educational marketing, but the manner in which they are employed varies for each book and at different levels of the educational system. A comparison of the marketing of a basic secondary text with that of a basic college text may serve to illustrate this.

The campaign to market an educational book often begins before the book is published. Let us say the book is a Canadian grade nine science text that the publisher hopes to have listed in Circular 14 in Ontario. The potential market for the first year of sale is about fifty thousand, and naturally he wants as large a share of it as possible. A pre-publication announcement will probably be mailed to schools, and representatives will plan to call at least once on as many heads of science departments as possible during the academic year. When the book is published, every science head will receive a free copy, advertisements may be placed in suitable teachers' journals, salesmen will carry copies with them on their calls, and books will be shown at displays. After Circular 14 is issued and if the book is listed in it, the promotion and sales campaigns will be intensified in accordance with the responses derived from the earlier calls; representatives will call again on selected heads, and other circulars will be mailed. When the publisher issues his next catalogue the book will receive special attention. In essence, the whole campaign is designed to have science department heads authorize the text for the grade nine science classes in their schools, and because the book is published in Canada the planning and execution of the marketing program take place entirely in this country.

The marketing in Canada of a new basic freshman college text in, for example, physics, published in the United States, resembles the selling of that book in its home market. In the season prior to publication it will be announced in the colleges by the representatives who will have received advance information from the United States. From then on, representatives, on the basis of their calls, will probably request sample copies to be sent on publication to certain instructors who might be interested in prescribing the book. At this point or later there may be advertising in journals for physicists. Just prior to publication a descriptive circular will be mailed, generally in the United States, to instructors announcing the book and inviting them to write for sample copies. Sometime after publication there will probably be another circular listing the new book and other physics books. During the year salesmen will call on the instructors who responded to the mailings and will send copies also to a number who have not received copies. Like the school salesmen, they will call again on promising prospects. Unlike them, they will probably not carry copies on their calls; instructors will have received sample copies of their book and of the competition. Though the same basic techniques have been used

as in the schools, the college program has been directed to all instructors, rather than heads of departments, there has been a greater emphasis on complimentary samples, and the Canadian promotion has been part of an international campaign.

### *The Work of the Educational Representatives*

Most publishers consider the call by a sales representative to be the most effective method of selling books in the educational market. An experienced and skilled representative who is well informed about his own books and those of his competitors, and who knows the local needs of the area in which he is calling, can awaken productive interest among teachers in his books and answer their questions intelligently.

Careful planning is required if the sales force is to be used most effectively. Although its basic task is to call on everyone who purchases or can influence the purchase of books, it is unlikely that it can manage to reach them all. The time of each representative must be carefully apportioned and scheduled. When establishing priorities for a sales force, a publisher must consider a number of things: his selling costs (including salaries, and expenses of travel and accommodation), where the bulk of his publishing investment lies, where the potential market for books is at a particular time and with a given board, school, or college, and what purchases he may expect of the four types of books after a salesman's call. A basic text, if bought for all students, will usually produce the highest sales, followed by a reference text purchased in class sets. Receipts from the other two categories are likely to depend on whether librarians are more influenced in buying books by reviews than by salesmen, whether sales of multiple copies rather than a single copy may result from the call, and whether the publisher has more or less margin in these categories than on basic texts or reference texts.

These and other factors influence the choice of sales techniques and the planning of schedules. The publisher must try to schedule itineraries so that the salesmen will be available to attend certain events, for example publishers' displays, especially at the elementary and secondary school levels. Once in the field, the representative will have to allocate his own time and effort carefully within the general guidelines of the house. Because it is so difficult to ascertain when a decision will be made to purchase a textbook (most books are selected between November and April, but the date may vary from area to area and from year to year), his ability to be at the right place at the right time may well govern his success.

In the secondary schools, the representative must make a number of calls to be sure he has given any one book adequate promotion. The heads of departments generally decide on the texts to be used, and their recommendations are usually accepted by the principal and the board. But their decisions are often influenced by the opinions of others, particularly those of colleagues in the school. Other department heads in the area also may exert an influence, especially if the whole area is to



have the same text, as may administrators and consultants whose judgment the head values. The representative may call on some or all of these people. It is unlikely, of course, that he will devote all of any visit to only one of his books, for he will have other titles to sell as well.

Although Circular 14 lists textbooks for most Ontario courses, some books not listed in the circular (such as the English literature selections mentioned earlier) may have a potential market as large as, if not larger than, that for listed texts. Such books will receive as much sales attention as the basic texts. Indeed, campaigns for them can be mapped out in detail earlier because it is not necessary to wait for publication of the circular.

In areas of the curriculum where there has been a move away from the use of one basic text, such as some history courses, a variety of books may be used. A good market for reference texts purchased in class sets is thus created. Representatives will proceed with these books in much the same way as with basic texts, especially if they have a series to promote.

To sell books in elementary schools (primary and junior divisions in Ontario, and comparable divisions in other provinces) publishers employ the general principles discussed above but sometimes use avenues different from those used at the high school level. Elementary and secondary schools differ not only in pedagogical approaches to the curriculum but also in administration. There is generally also a contrast in size, and there are many more elementary than secondary schools. A representative therefore has more schools to visit when he is working at the elementary level and may find it more difficult to discover who is responsible for deciding which books to buy. He does know, at any rate, that when nine reading series are on a provincial list, there is a good chance that frequently the decision will be made by each school or by a committee from a small number of schools.

Publishers sometimes arrange to see a number of teachers and principals at once by bringing a group of them together after school hours for seminars on limited and specific topics. To such meetings a representative might bring as a speaker an author or a consultant. The latter usually is a specialist in some branch of education, such as elementary reading, employed by the publisher to show teachers how his materials can be used effectively.

Although a salesman may call on both elementary and high schools, it is common in large firms to have representatives who specialize in one field or the other. This is not surprising, because with the present diversification in curriculum it is difficult for a salesman to keep up to date with a wide range of levels.

A publisher with a large educational list may have to reduce the geographical extent of his salesmen's territories, principally because of the increase in local autonomy in curriculum and book selection and the general broadening of prescriptions. These trends are evident in most provinces. Consequently, publishers must now be prepared to serve a number of regional markets across the country as

well as the older provincial markets. Some publishers are meeting this situation by having resident representatives in the larger cities. Others continue to have their salesmen work out of their home offices. Between these two extremes there is a variety of solutions.

Although the pattern of the educational market in other provinces is similar to Ontario's, there are differences. In most of the others there is a provincial textbook bureau that purchases the books approved or authorized for use in that province. This centralized purchasing system assists the publisher to reduce his service costs and regulate his inventory.

Because of the importance of the provincial textbook bureau, a representative working outside Ontario must call regularly to ensure that there is a good working relation between publisher and bureau. He can learn a great deal about how well he and his company are serving the needs of the province by such regular visits, for the bureau is a link between the publisher and the department of education. He will also be able to judge how well his books are received in the area if he studies carefully the pattern of textbook bureau orders, for in them he can see the estimates of a skilled observer. If orders for a book show a decline from the usual pattern of a bureau's orders, he will be alerted to investigate whether that book is falling in popularity or whether some areas are not placing their orders through the bureau. Either of these reasons can be important for the publisher.

The representative who knows the needs of the bureaus in his area can be extremely useful to the publisher in establishing printing quantities. If, for example, a publisher is issuing a new text that he thinks may meet curriculum needs in, let us say, British Columbia, the representative who knows the ordering pattern of that provincial bureau at the grade level for which the book is intended can advise not only on the initial demand in that province but also on requirements for the next two or three years. There is no automatic formula of course, and the efficient representative will also have to know the general educational climate at the time and other factors that must be considered. Nevertheless, the book bureau patterns can give him the basic information.

It is not within the scope of this paper to discuss the process by which publishers secure provincial adoptions of their books. It should be mentioned, however, that a great deal of the time of a representative working outside Ontario will be spent in promoting books for which his firm wishes to secure authorization. When the book is authorized a great deal of his selling has already been done.

In the marketing of books to school libraries, representatives can also play an important role. They promote and sell books that are purchased for libraries in multiple copies, for example certain references, as well as those purchased in individual copies. Their work is done at the administrative levels of department, school board, and individual school.

At the departmental and board levels, representatives concentrate on the securing

of listings by making regular calls on school library supervisors and library committees. They ascertain the areas of interest of library committees at a particular time, propose the books they think most suitable, and send sample copies of some books to ensure that the committee has an opportunity to examine them.

Ultimately, and especially in the secondary schools, the choice of library books will be made by the schools. Here the representative's marketing will, of course, be governed by the nature of the list his company publishes. Some school representatives sell only textbooks; others sell both textbooks and library books. In any case, the publisher must somehow evaluate the effectiveness of calls by representatives. Some publishers consider them valuable and worthwhile. Others think that while regular calls on librarians may help to sell books, they are still not economically justified. They argue that library books are generally purchased on the basis of reviews in professional journals and that the salesman could use his time in a school to better advantage by selling two or three hundred basic texts than by slightly increasing school library purchases. And, of course, there is the very cogent argument that the time spent is of no benefit to the Canadian publisher if the order for the books is placed with an American jobber.

In many Canadian publishing houses the college representatives work only in colleges and universities, but in others they may call on both schools and colleges. Such differences do not really affect the type of work required; in this paper, "college department" includes anyone working at that level of education.

College representatives call on teachers, like their counterparts in the school department; but they use different techniques, principally because of the heterogeneity of the books they are selling and of the conditions in which they sell them. The basic college textbook is more a standard work than the school text, and less a manual of instruction except in some technical and scientific subjects. As a result the college representative need not know in as much detail all the contents of each book, how effective it has been as a manual of instruction, and how it fits with the pedagogical theory and practice in the area where he is promoting the book. Instead he must know well the approach to a subject the author has taken in his scholarship, the degree to which it is represented in his text, and the commendations and criticisms as scholar, teacher, and writer the author has had from his peers. The college representative must be aware of writings by scholars in many disciplines; the school representative must be familiar with educational research and the manner in which it is reflected in the curriculum patterns and instructional practices of the school units in the area where he is working.

The college salesman is more likely to be able to work effectively with the promotion of a book prior to publication than is his school counterpart. He frequently finds that a forthcoming text commands attention because of the reputation the author has established by previous publications. He will find the way opened even more when his company issues a revised edition of a standard work, and not sur-



prisingly the marketing of revised editions is of considerable importance in college publishing. In many cases instructors are familiar with earlier editions and need only know the changes the author has made in order to prescribe the revision or at least postpone a decision until they have seen it. Where the current edition is already authorized the salesman has a natural introduction, for one of his responsibilities will be to inform instructors and bookstores of the new edition to enable them to plan stock requirements. Because of these patterns, college representatives mainly use information about books rather than actual copies of the books.

In college marketing there is a wider variety of sales calls than in the schools. One reason is that college instructors are generally more accessible than school teachers – they have offices and more hours when they are not actually teaching – and during the working day the college salesmen can see a good number of instructors. Another reason is that, because of the autonomy in prescription at the college level, representatives cannot be certain that any one teacher will be able to influence the purchase of a textbook by students other than those in his own class, and so they must call on as many instructors as possible. Indeed, apart from questions such as the size of a class and the price range of the textbook used, all college calls have almost equal weight. The school representatives, on the other hand, realizing that certain educators will have more influence on prescription decisions than others, are more conscious of establishing priorities.

Of course these are generalizations, and like all general statements they have exceptions. The gap between school and college marketing practices has narrowed: for large freshman adoptions the college representative must work with committees, much as a school representative would in securing an adoption, and because of decentralization the school representative uses some college techniques. On the whole, however, the college salesman will be selling a greater variety of books, for more courses, with smaller enrolments, than will the school salesman.

Traditionally the basic textbook has been the nucleus of college publishing in North America. The sale of textbooks has constituted the largest portion of college dollar volume, and other materials have generally been built around them. Now, as indicated earlier, a number of developments have challenged the prime position of the textbook. One is the prescription of a number of books, even at the introductory levels, and the effects of this have already been felt in college marketing. Paperback reprints of standard works sold at relatively inexpensive prices have changed many courses in the humanities and social sciences and, in some, basic textbooks are no longer used. The widening of prescriptions has made more difficult not only the estimating of requirements but also the budgeting of a representative's time.

Because of changes in course content and the mobility of instructors, there was always a certain element of chance in the investment of a salesman's time to secure authorizations; what seemed a certainty in February could be lost by August. It

was not a bad gamble, however, if there was the possibility of securing a basic adoption of, say, a \$12.00 basic text. The situation is quite different when the book is a \$2.00 edition, one of several not dissimilar editions, of a basic work that might not be prescribed in any edition.

Each publisher has had to work out his own way of meeting this problem. The representatives of some publishers with long lists of basic college textbooks may concentrate on selling and distributing samples of the basic textbooks, and in effect assume that their general paperbacks have as good a chance as others of catching an instructor's eye on a bookstore shelf. Representatives of other companies may give out samples of general paperbacks to a degree to ensure that instructors have them at hand when they are prescribing books. Still others may decide to sell and distribute samples of such books as they would basic textbooks.

Not all paperbacks used in colleges are available in competing editions, especially those that are not out of copyright. For such books, whether they be fiction or non-fiction, the representative may likely give out samples and perhaps call as he would to sell a basic textbook, especially for courses with large enrolments. There are also basic college textbooks in many subjects that are published originally in paperback, but as these books differ only in binding from a casebound edition they tend to be marketed in the same way as any other college text.

The move to wide prescription has been a boon to some publishers, the reverse to others, and a mixed blessing to still others. Certainly it has not had the unqualified advantages some general publishers hoped for. Attractive though the college market seemed at first to the trade publishers, it proved to have its own problems and for some houses a period of adjustment was necessary.

It would be unfortunate if, in pointing out the effect on college marketing of wider lists of prescribed reading, one left the impression that it should be lamented as startlingly disrupting or damaging. Surely anything that encourages wider reading must benefit publishing in the future if not immediately. In any case, the new trend is hardly a radical departure. The principle of allowing students a choice of texts and expecting them to read a variety of books is by no means new to higher education in Canada. Omnibus textbooks in the humanities and college texts in English composition have never been as popular in some Canadian universities as they have been in the United States.

From the example of trade publishing, one might mistakenly assume that the college representative should be directing his efforts principally to selling books to college bookstores. The logic for this would be that, because students buy from bookstores, the more books the representative persuades the stores to purchase the more books the students will buy. The fallacy is that the instructor, not the store, decides what texts will be used and what texts therefore will be purchased. Thus the college representative must spend most of his time on the campus calling on the instructors in order to secure prescriptions.

It is essential, however, for him to have good liaison with the campus bookstore, whose manager makes the books available for students after they have been prescribed. If any college publishing operation is to work successfully, the publisher must be aware constantly of the needs of the store and whether he and his company are meeting them. From the bookstore the representative can secure the enrolment, stock, and ordering statistics essential both to the smooth operation of a college department and to his own efficiency as a representative.

The territories covered by Canadian college representatives have generally been geographically larger than those of their school colleagues, principally because in any area there are so many more elementary and secondary schools than universities, but the size of the college territories differs greatly from company to company. There is now, however, a fairly clear trend towards the large subsidiaries of American college publishers having resident college salesmen in cities with large universities. That trend is not as evident among publisher-agents. One reason is probably that the college agency business is an uncertain base on which to expand; the foreign principal may change its representation or form its own subsidiary.

### *Complimentary Copies*

The sending of free copies of books to teachers is an established practice in North American educational publishing. These books are sent by publishers either as "desk copies" for teachers who have prescribed textbooks for student use or as "sample copies" to teachers who may prescribe them.

Over the years schools and universities have come to expect that they should be provided with a free desk copy for each teacher who has prescribed a book for student use. Their receipt is now so much regarded as routine that when texts are selected some universities automatically send to the publisher what is in effect a requisition for the number of free desk copies they think they will need. A rough estimate of the total number of desk copies given out at the elementary and secondary levels would be between two and three per cent of the total number prescribed; at the college level the percentage would be higher. As courses diversify, creating more courses with small enrolments, as has happened in universities, the percentage increases, so that under present conditions the cost of desk copies has become a matter of some concern to publishers faced with rising production and overhead costs and a tightening market that resists price increases. In elementary and secondary school publishing, desk copies have not raised such severe problems, but are nevertheless an important economic factor.

The sample copy is sent to a teacher to encourage him to select the book as a text. The rationale is that a book is its own best advertisement, that the teacher will not prescribe it until he has examined it, and that the quickest way to get it into his hands is to give it to him.

There is no universal agreement among publishers about the profitability of free



sample copies. Advocates advance two principal arguments: that sampling is the prime advertising expense of educational publishers and accomplishes with reasonable economy what is done more expensively in trade publishing; and that there is evidence of a direct, positive ratio between sample distribution and sales. Critics of the practice say that it has become so expensive as to be no longer justified by the sales it may produce: not only has the cost of manufacturing risen but so also has the expense of processing and distributing individual copies. They question also the effectiveness of free copies in sales promotion now that their receipt has become so routine that some university instructors merely complete a form, listing any books, text or trade, they may want free of charge and send it to the publisher.

A possible alternative to the sample copy is the book that is purchased "on approval"; the teacher has the choice within a stated time (one month generally) of keeping and paying for it or of returning it. The advantage to the publisher is that the book is sold, not given; it can also be argued that teachers value the books they purchase more highly than those that are free. In practice, however, the system has some distinct disadvantages, especially for a title which the publisher wants to sell in large quantities. Responses to an offer of a book "on approval" are smaller than to the offer of a free copy, and therefore fewer teachers will examine the book and, one would assume, prescribe it. Also, if the teacher decides to buy a book received "on approval," a variety of accounting problems can arise. He may have forgotten to say that the book was to be billed to the school board, or if he remembered may not have complied with that body's purchasing requirements. Then the board will probably reject the invoice, and the publisher will have to bill the teacher personally. Although he may be intent on maintaining good rapport with schools and teachers, the publisher may suddenly find that his image has changed from the apostle of sweet reasonableness to the roaring lion seeking whom he may devour. And even if he can live with that, he finds that the cost of repeated invoicing destroys much of his original margin and he may just decide to write off the charge. At the university level the "on approval" system is likely to produce even more problems and rouse stronger feelings than in the schools, and its value to a publisher thus may be considered questionable indeed.

The degree to which a publisher sends out samples of a book is directly related to the potential sales he estimates the book may have. A new grade nine text in science or mathematics has a large potential market in Ontario, and he will want the head of the department in every school concerned to see the book. On the other hand, for a book with a less predictable market – a new course at grade eleven in one of the social sciences, for example – his sample distribution will likely be more restricted. He will probably rely on his representative to decide in each school whether there is sufficient interest in the course to justify a sample copy. If the course is apt to grow in popularity, the representative may send a sample if there is a reasonably good chance that even ten books will be bought in the first year.

In provinces other than Ontario, the same general principles apply to samples, with some differences because of local conditions. A small company whose sales force spends limited time in a province may give a large percentage of the market sample copies to compensate for its lack of other coverage. In addition, when a province lists a number of books on an experimental basis, publishers may give schools larger discounts on sets of books than a realistic margin would allow. Really this is, in effect, a variation of complimentary sample distribution in the hope of securing the final authorization.

With the expansion of post-secondary education in Canada, one of the major questions facing every Canadian college publisher is the degree to which he should distribute samples of his college textbooks. The answers vary from publisher to publisher. As a general rule, somewhere between five and ten per cent of the first year's estimated sale will be sent out as sample copies in that initial year. In addition, samples will continue to be distributed for an indefinite period after publication, depending on how long a book requires to establish itself in the market. The cost of free copies is, then, a significant expense in Canadian college publishing, especially for the Canadian publishers who act as agents and must purchase these books from their principals.

For some publishers with big general lists, sample copies can present special problems in the humanities and social sciences, where there are wide prescriptions. When requests are received for a large number of free copies for consideration in one course, sending the books is a very questionable investment. Publishers now often either refuse such requests or attempt to reduce the number of copies requested. In either event they may incur some resentment on the part of university instructors accustomed to receiving any complimentary they wish.

Some teachers, especially at the university level, say that publishers have contributed to the excessive requests for free books. They claim that they are bombarded with unsolicited samples and that it would not be surprising if they and their colleagues began to place a low value on all books, especially texts. Such a statement may be justified to a degree but, of course, it has the limitations of any generalization about an industry in which there is considerable diversity.

All college publishers seek ways to ensure that whenever possible recognizable marketing advantages will result from the samples they give out. One method of doing this is for the central office to forward requests to the local representative, who then calls on the instructor. Useful though this approach is, it requires local representation, and therefore can be employed at present only by companies with large college sales forces. The publisher with a small college sales force must rely on some less direct method, perhaps a reply card and a later follow-up when his representative reaches the campus.

The exhibit is a well established and very effective method of promotion, which enables publishers to set before groups of teachers the books they wish to bring to

## *Displays*

their attention. The displays usually fall into one of two categories, those shown in conjunction with meetings or conventions, and those held independently of meetings at regional or provincial centres to introduce teachers to the books. At either type each publisher generally has one part of the total exhibit, and frequently sends a representative to set up the display and discuss the books with visitors. When a book exhibit is likely to have limited attendance or is very specialized in its range, the Canadian Book Publishers' Council may arrange one combined display from a number of publishers.

The major university exhibit is held at the annual meetings of the Learned Societies, with displays changed to coincide with the various meetings. There are also displays at the meetings of some provincial associations, for example, of the teachers of psychology in one province. Exhibits are also mounted when international gatherings of scholars take place in Canada.

Because community colleges are relatively new to the Canadian educational scene, a clear pattern of displays for them is not yet evident. In Ontario a successful trial has been made of a very large exhibit of books in all subjects for librarians and teachers in these colleges.

In specialized publishing for fields such as medicine and nursing, there is considerable similarity between the needs of college teachers and practitioners. As a result exhibits of books, both texts and references, are held at provincial and national meetings of such professional associations.

The majority of publishers' exhibits, however, are for elementary and secondary school teachers. The annual meetings of provincial and national teachers' organizations, such as the Ontario Education Association and the Canadian Council of Teachers of English, bring together large numbers of teachers who can purchase, or influence the purchase of, significant numbers of books. The displays set up at these meetings are generally organized by the associations, and in most cases are efficiently arranged and well attended. But there are exceptions. The display areas may be poorly located, away from the mainstream of traffic. They may be poorly lighted and uninviting. Security has sometimes been lax and books have been stolen.

Certain school boards and teachers' groups have annual book exhibits that the CBPC arranges at the request of the sponsoring organization, which indicates the subjects and grade levels to be shown. Although this type of display would seem to be ideal for the publisher, in practice it is not. It is often poorly attended and, because it covers so wide a range of subjects, may have limited impact.

The organizing of such a display follows a series of regular steps. The sponsoring association sends a request to the Canadian Book Publishers' Council, which sends back a questionnaire. This asks for general data such as the proposed date (and an alternative) of the display, the location, subject areas and grade levels, whether



or not there is a fee, the facilities that will be available, the method of purchasing used by members, and the amount that they might spend on books. From this information, the CBPC decides whether it will organize the display. If it decides to do so, it sends a detailed memorandum to publishers. On the basis of their response, the Council's exhibits co-ordinator tells the sponsor which publishers will attend, and final arrangements are made. When the Council decides against organizing an exhibit, it asks its members to deal directly with the sponsor if they wish to attend.

That the book display has proven an effective means of liaison between educators and publishers is evident from its constant use over more than sixty years. But, like many other traditional activities, it is now being challenged. One criticism is that it reaches only a limited portion of the school market. For example, of the eighty-eight exhibits organized in Canada in 1970, sixty-eight were in Ontario, and fifty of these were in the southern part of the province; this is of course a heavily populated, lucrative market, but one that is covered in detail by individual publishing firms. Both publishers and teachers also have criticized the arrangements for displays. Publishers have complained that sponsoring schools often do not place the displays where they will attract teachers, and that there is not usually sufficient time to show their books. Teachers say that it is absurd to expect them to evaluate a mass of instructional material in a few minutes. Clearly, sponsors must try to arrange for better locations and more time for viewing.

One step that might be taken to meet strictures on the kinds of materials displayed would be to provide enough of the special-interest exhibits that teachers seem to want. The responsibility for arrangements would lie with both sponsor and publishers.

In general, publishers seem to feel that teachers' groups which sponsor book exhibits frequently give too little thought to the requirements of the display. They wonder whether, at smaller exhibits where provision for viewing books is inadequate, they have been called in to dress up the meetings. At some large meetings, on the other hand, they may suspect that the sponsoring organizations look upon the exhibits as a source of easily obtainable revenue from fees. There has been some publishers' resistance to the raising of exhibit fees, and some speculation as to whether costs have now become too high in relation to prospective sales.

Along with questioning the present effectiveness of exhibits developed for an earlier age, publishers and interested educators are considering modifications and substitutions. A new type of exhibit called the Materials Clinic has been used experimentally in Ontario. The publishers, working as a group, provide speakers, schedule workshop panels, make up the book displays, and have representatives in attendance. The school board or department of education has the responsibility for providing the display area and enabling teachers to attend the exhibit. The reactions of teachers and publishers has been favourable and it seems likely there may be more such exhibits in the future.

In estimating the extent to which he should use displays to promote his books, the individual publisher must also consider the effect on his whole marketing program. He will want to employ the men and women of his marketing staff so as to make the most of their time and abilities, and, unfortunately, exhibits can seriously impede their efficiency. If all school boards and organizations would notify publishers of their exhibit requirements when they plan the academic year, displays could be fitted in smoothly. But insufficient notice is common. As a result, the educational publisher's carefully planned schedule is always in shoal waters. In late summer the sales manager will have completed the itineraries of his representatives after consultation with them; he will have mapped out his general sales program; he will have apportioned his resources, including the scheduling of visits by consultants where requested; he will have laid related plans for circulars, special promotions, etc. There will be little marginal time left the sales staff. Unfortunately, the schools are not aware of these plans, and throughout the year they will send in requests for displays, some of them on two or three weeks' notice. Breaking into his schedules to accommodate these sudden requests can be costly to the publisher, requiring re-routing of travelling and, more importantly, disrupting the representatives' plans for using their time to best advantage. Unexpected requests for displays are especially troublesome to small and medium-sized firms, which are unlikely to have staff to deploy for special assignments.

The display system obviously has drawbacks, but when it achieves its fundamental purpose it enables the publisher to meet the people who are essential to him – the teachers. For teachers, as authors and producers, as purchasers and consumers, provide the life-blood of educational publishing.

### *Catalogues*

Catalogues are practical marketing tools for educational publishers, especially those who have as their targets school libraries or courses with wide prescriptions. At the elementary and secondary school levels, the catalogues prepared by Canadian publishers are many and varied and are circulated in large quantities. At the university level, where a large proportion of the books purchased are imports, Canadian publishers produce few catalogues. Instead they tend to import catalogues from the United States and, for several reasons, including expense, distribute them in relatively limited quantities. These U.S. catalogues do not, of course, include Canadian books, but the lists of domestic college basic textbooks are comparatively small and generally are promoted in other ways, as are Canadian references. University presses are exceptions to the general rule, issuing regular catalogues that, because of the very nature of the lists, receive considerable attention on campuses.

A school catalogue can be comprehensive and include most of the titles a publisher has available for schools; it may contain only textbooks, or only books for school libraries; it may list only the books in a certain subject or at a certain level;

or yet again it may combine in various permutations and combinations elements of the previous divisions, as in a secondary school English textbook catalogue divided into genre groupings and grade levels.

There is no universal rule about the information that catalogues should contain, although purchasers may often wish they were issued in common formats for ease in making comparisons. Usually the most recently published books have favoured positions, and more space is accorded to them than to older books. Generally also, for the newer books at any rate, the catalogue reports the level, size, and date of publication, and offers a description of the contents. It will also give a price or, if the book is not yet published, perhaps a tentative price, but the manner in which the price is stated can differ from publisher to publisher. Some catalogues have the list price, the price a school would pay if it did not receive an educational discount. Other catalogues state the actual net price the school will pay. Depending on the publisher, other information may be given, ranging from library classification numbers and international standard book numbers to lists of provinces and library organizations approving the book.

There is also considerable variety in physical specifications and methods of distribution. Educational catalogues range from handsome, well-illustrated publications on fine paper to simple, utilitarian lists. Some are mailed to schools from lists the publisher has built up or purchased from a mailing house. Others are given by representatives to teachers in the course of calls or at exhibits. Some are sent in response to requests.

### *Direct mail*

One way that a publishing house can call a teacher's attention to a book and indicate its suitability for a certain course is to send him a circular through the mail. Because textbooks are published for specialized markets, this type of promotion has obvious advantages for the educational publishers and is frequently used.

When a publishing house issues an elementary or secondary basic text intended for a large market, it will likely send out its first circular on the book early in the promotional program. For Ontario, the company will often schedule delivery of finished books for October at the latest in order to meet the November 1 deadline for Circular 14. It will then probably send out, in September or even in the preceding June, a brochure which will describe the book, indicate its value for the intended course, and invite teachers to write for sample copies to be mailed on publication. Later, when Circular 14 is published and if the book appears in it as an approved text, another circular will be sent. A third or fourth circular, including perhaps some related titles, may go out in the spring or in the next academic year. Such a mailing program would, of course, be governed by the company's judgment of potential profit from the expenditure. The company will have to bear in



mind that in textbook publishing it is aiming for large quantity purchases, and to a great degree is engaged in an all-or-nothing effort without the almost automatic initial sale it can expect from some trade books.

The mailing program for a basic book intended for a special course is a relatively clear-cut exercise. The publishing house knows the constituency and pretty much what it needs to know about the book. In curriculum areas where a number of books are used rather than one basic text, or when a book may be used in different grades in different provinces, it faces a more complicated type of promotion. It must then choose between circulars aimed at the specific needs of each province and one general buckshot brochure intended for all provinces. To make such a decision it will have to call on the knowledge of its representatives about markets, of its promotion staff about advertising techniques, and of its production department about manufacturing.

An educational publishing house will also usually have a number of books not written to meet the needs of specific courses and yet closely related to certain school topics, such as the various areas of English literature. Representatives will not have enough time to attempt to sell each such book in the schools, but a brochure could list and describe them.

In the case of a Canadian college textbook, the publisher usually sends on publication a descriptive brochure to universities and colleges, giving complete details and inviting requests for sample copies. If the book is published in the fall, he will likely mail another circular during the academic year and in it he may list related books. Most college textbooks, however, originate in the United States, and in such cases the U.S. publisher will probably mail his descriptive circular or brochure directly to Canadian universities, for he can obtain Canadian staff lists from mailing services in his own country. The Canadian agent will then be unlikely to produce another brochure here, but will rely principally on the foreign mailing and probably import any additional copies of the circular he needs for special purposes.

The direct-mail promotion of general books and references differs from that for textbooks, because the circular is designed to sell one copy, or a small quantity, of each of many books; the textbook circular aims for large-quantity purchases of one book or a few books. At the school level, general and reference mailings are sent mainly to librarians. Their form is influenced by the character of the publisher's list and the needs of the market. They may, for example, combine a number of books, of domestic and foreign origin, around one topic on the curriculum.

The market for college references is more varied, and for any book may comprise specialized groups and associations of scholars as well as libraries. The mailing programs are accordingly varied. Circulars are especially useful for Canadian reference books which generally do not have the assistance of international advertising and often have to be directed toward highly specialized markets.

### *Space Advertising*

At both school and college levels, Canadian educational publishers advertise in teachers' professional journals, and frequently in the programs of meetings of provincial and national associations.

There are a number of Canadian journals or magazines for teachers in elementary and secondary schools. Some are issued by commercial companies, but most are published by associations of teachers. Ontario, for example, has journals such as the *Bulletin* of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation, the *Educational Courier* for elementary teachers, the *Review of the Ontario English Catholic Teachers Association*, and in other provinces there are comparable magazines such as the *British Columbia Teacher*. There are also national journals such as the *English Quarterly* issued by the Canadian Council of Teachers of English.

Such journals have good circulation and there is every indication teachers read them regularly. An advertisement in any of them reaches a good section of an educational publisher's market. Nevertheless only a relatively small portion of the marketing budget normally is devoted to space advertising. In general, publishers are somewhat sceptical about the effectiveness of such advertising compared to other techniques that enable them to reach more directly the teachers of a course for which a book is intended. One reason for this is the difficulty in measuring the response. A publisher with a new secondary school mathematics text may hesitate to take a page in a provincial magazine going to teachers of all subjects, when for a comparable investment he can send a brochure directly to every mathematics teacher in the province. Similarly, he may be reluctant to advertise in a national journal for teachers of a subject because of differences in curriculum between provinces.

The space advertising of Canadian college publishers appears principally in journals issued by academic societies, and is designed to sell the publisher's texts and references in those disciplines. It is really a supplement to other forms of promotion, and generally has only a moderate percentage of the promotional budget.

Although publishers have doubts about its value, they do feel that space advertising reinforces their other book promotion methods and brings the name of the firm to the attention of potential purchasers. In addition, it is one way a publisher can discharge his responsibility to his authors, especially those who write and publish in Canada.

### MARKETING, EDITORIAL POLICY, AND REPRESENTATIVES

Because the goal of marketing is to generate the maximum actual profit, editorial and marketing policies are inextricably linked in educational publishing. Basically a publisher can increase his profit by reducing costs and/or increasing revenue. He

must be able to estimate accurately both expenditure and income when making publishing decisions – knowing that his margin can vary, not only for different books but also for the same book under different conditions.

A publisher will, for example, probably have a different profit if he sells 30,000 copies of a book to one province, on one shipment, with one invoice, than if he sells 300 copies to each of 100 Ontario schools which require separate invoices and shipments. He will have to give a larger discount to the provincial textbook bureau than to individual schools, but as compensation he has smaller selling and administrative costs on the initial order. If he also can be confident of securing the provincial authorization before he completes manufacture of the book and knows the price at which he can sell it, he has practically eliminated any degree of uncertainty. He may receive payment before he must pay for his manufacturing, and may have the use of that capital for a time for investment in other projects.

This example highlights contrasting conditions; normally the differences are not so marked. There are, however, many variables in educational publishing. In order to estimate at an early pre-publication stage how they may operate a publisher needs to know not only his overhead, editorial, and production costs but also his promotion and selling expenses and his potential revenue from a book. The first set of costs can be established internally, but the others require information that the publisher must obtain from the marketplace. That market is changing constantly even while a book is being written. A considerable amount of time is required for the preparation, writing, and publication of a textbook, and when a publishing house contracts with an author it will expect the book to meet the needs of schools two or three years later. Publishers must know the type of book wanted, how many copies are likely to be purchased, and the manner in which they will be bought. One source of information is analysis of the history of comparable books and of purchasing patterns in the market. Another is statistical analysis of enrolment projections. A third is the market research carried out by representatives, who are particularly valuable because they know the needs of the house so well. A publisher can check his representatives' opinions against statistical information; it is questionable whether by using only statistics he could arrive at the insights they provide. An article in *Time* magazine indicated that the "research" of U.S. educational publishers consists principally in fact of the reports of their representatives, and such probing is also carried out in Canada.

Representatives' reports may differ in form depending on the nature, size, and complexity of organization of different companies, but they are alike in that they give a picture of the potential markets for possible future publications (enrolment, course trends, new courses), the reception accorded various publications issued by their own company and its competitors, and names of possible authors. As publishing activity increases within a company the reporting becomes more complex. In larger companies, representatives may be reporting to subject editors, who in turn



carry the projects further along through some of the stages assigned in smaller companies to the representative.

A publishing idea is of little value until there is an author who will write the book. John Farrar, the American publisher, has succinctly summarized the items that lure authors: "the distinction and attractiveness of the books published by a firm and its performance in presenting, advertising and selling them." (*Editors on Editing*, selected by Gerald Gross. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1962) The securing of authors and manuscripts has for years been an integral part of the work of the representatives. They are the members of the firm who are constantly meeting the potential authors in schools and universities, and if every soldier has a marshal's baton in his knapsack every professor has a possible book in his desk or in his imagination. The author's initial contact with the publishing house frequently is when a representative calls on him, and that meeting is extremely important. If the author forms the opinion that the representative truly reflects the character of the company, and that the company is one that will publish his book well and market it intelligently and vigorously, he is likely to submit his manuscript there. In the publishing community this editorial function is often termed "manuscript procurement," but it could as well be called seduction. There is considerable competition for authors, and frequently a representative must use all his powers of persuasion.

The editorial function of the representative by no means ends when the author has signed a contract and is working with the editorial department. During the whole process of writing, editing, manufacturing, and publishing, the representative will be calling on the author in the natural course of his duties. His interest in the book and informed knowledge of it can do much to strengthen the relationship so that the author will feel the publisher is the natural outlet for his further writing.

The publishing of books for elementary and secondary schools constitutes a large proportion of Canadian publishing activity, and the editorial aspect of marketing in the schools is of proportionate importance. In the course of his duties a school representative meets educators at all administrative levels. He not only learns what type of book the majority of teachers will prescribe from what is available, but also begins to form an estimate of what they ideally want. He may also be able to estimate when they may change texts. This sort of information he will report; perhaps he will propose that the company publish a certain type of book, estimate sales for it, and even suggest a possible author or team of authors. From the large number of teachers a representative meets there is certainly a good chance that some may be possible textbook authors. If he has the talent to recognize and encourage them, he can be a valuable asset to his firm. Many Canadian representatives have in fact been instrumental in developing individual books and even series.

In those provinces other than Ontario where there is usually central purchasing, the editorial function of the representative is extremely important. Because a great deal of the selling may in effect be accomplished by initial authorization, the esti-

mates of sale and the choice of author are crucial; there is usually little opportunity to remedy an initial setback later, as may be done in a market with a wide range of prescriptions.

Sometimes a representative may discover a completed but unpublished manuscript – more frequently in college than in school work. He may be tempted to consider it an unlikely prospect for publication. A teacher generally does not write a textbook unless he thinks some publisher is interested in it, and there is always a chance the manuscript has been rejected by another house. If the representative is alert and experienced, however, he will know that enough such manuscripts have become successful books to suggest that he should actively encourage the author to submit his for consideration.

The prospective books that Canadian college representatives seek may be published in Canada or in a foreign country. The procedures involved differ, as do the financial returns for the Canadian company. For an indigenous book the publishing process (with the occasional exception of some foreign manufacturing) takes place in Canada, from the initial meeting with the author to the marketing of finished books. Usually, but not always, the book will be concerned with a specifically Canadian topic, and at any rate it will be written with Canadian needs in mind. It will become part of the Canadian publisher's list and, if it is successful, a continuing source of income for him.

A manuscript by a Canadian college author which is published initially abroad follows a different route, and the publishing decision and the editing are likely to take place in a foreign country. Such an arrangement has some advantages for the Canadian company. The major one is relief from the often-heavy publishing investment. In addition, if the book satisfies the editorial needs of a foreign principal represented by the Canadian publisher, the agency relationship may be strengthened. There are disadvantages as well, however. As a corollary of little or no initial investment, there is limited profit; the Canadian publisher will receive only the margin he gets on any imported book. That margin is likely to be less than he would have on his own publication, and on successful texts the difference can be considerable. There is also the risk in many subjects that the book will not meet Canadian needs, for the foreign editorial program will have been designed with the needs of that country in mind. In addition, the Canadian company has built no publishing equity for the future; if it loses the agency it is likely to lose both the book and the author.

There is also a possible disadvantage to the author. Though he has international publication, he may receive a lower-than-normal export royalty on Canadian sales. There are ways of ameliorating this, however.

There is a difference between the book a Canadian publisher-agent secures for a foreign publisher, and one on which he sells international rights. This last type of book is indigenous, probably edited in Canada, and part of the Canadian pub-

lisher's basic list. Sale to another house of foreign rights need involve no risk of the surrender of editorial control or of Canadian rights.

Many college authors are not so much interested in writing textbooks as in producing books for the general reader. If his firm publishes this type of trade book, the college representative can often secure such manuscripts for his firm, especially in the humanities and social sciences. Obviously the amount of time he can devote to seeking this type of book is limited by his other responsibilities.

#### PRICING

The pricing of educational books is an essential part of their marketing, for prices govern revenue and, therefore, profit. In setting them a publisher must consider all phases of his operation. He must also mark well the needs of the market, and indeed the success of his pricing policy will depend largely on his ability to estimate correctly the number of copies he will sell.

Basically, a publisher sets a price on a book by calculating a figure that will recover his initial investment, his overhead costs, and his profit within a given time. The details of this procedure vary, but generally a publisher begins with his plant costs. These are the expenses he will incur whether he manufactures one hundred copies or one hundred thousand, and are composed of non-recurring costs such as typesetting. He then estimates the number of copies he will sell in a given period, and apportions his plant costs over that quantity of books. To this figure he adds the additional cost of manufacturing each copy of the book – for paper, printing, and binding. Then, according to whatever percentage formula he uses, he allots the amount needed for: royalties to the author; discount to a school, book bureau, or college bookstore; editorial and production costs; general overhead; and profit. He then has the selling price per copy.

Such formula pricing cannot always be carried through smoothly, and a publisher may revise his original estimated price. If he increases the price, he will have a larger profit, providing the higher price does not have an adverse effect on sales. If he lowers the price, he must either sell more copies, effect economies in manufacturing, or accept less profit. There are usually a number of ways to reduce manufacturing costs but, with the exception of an improvement in a firm's general purchasing procedures, most will impair the quality of the book and therefore will likely harm sales.

The element most likely to prompt a publisher to consider reducing the price originally planned is the climate of the market, and this he will have to evaluate carefully. He will, of course, be aware that a lower price may produce higher volume in sales. On the other hand he will see evidence that price is not always the prime factor in the selection of books. In some schools expensive texts have been chosen in preference to lower-priced books approved for the same subject; probably they were considered more comprehensive and more appropriate to the



approach the schools wanted to follow. Of course, there will be certain price pressure from his competitors, but because they face costs comparable to his, it is unlikely that their prices will be significantly lower, except perhaps in a subject such as English literature where paperbacks produced for large mass foreign markets are generally less expensive than Canadian editions.

Curriculum changes can affect prices. If the proposed price for a textbook was established early on the basis of its securing a number of single authorizations in a course, and the emphasis in that course shifted from basic textbooks to multiple prescription, the original pricing pattern would likely prove unprofitable.

Canadian college publishers use much the same formula to set prices for indigenous books. They must also be concerned with their pricing of foreign books because so many of them are used in Canadian universities. That process is relatively clear-cut. The publisher knows his exact net purchasing costs before he receives the books, and generally uses a percentage mark-up that will cover his costs of distributing and marketing, provide for his margin, and enable him to price competitively. In the pricing of indigenous books, he will obviously be influenced by the prices of foreign books that compete freely in the Canadian market.

In the pricing, he is unlikely to be able to secure a percentage of profit equal to that of American college publishers. True, the Canadian has the advantage in some subjects of fewer competitors, but he also has the considerable disadvantage of having to spread his initial costs over a smaller printing. This is not to say that no Canadian books sell in larger numbers than any American books and that no Canadian college books are published profitably. A good number are profitable, but obviously even a highly successful Canadian book will sell in much smaller quantities than a book with an equivalent percentage of the United States market.

A solution is not easy to find. Deceptively attractive is the apparent remedy of time and energy – time for Canada to grow and provide the larger market, energy in marketing that will produce higher sales, lower unit costs, and larger margins. There are indications, however, that growth in volume is not a panacea. Wider prescriptions make it necessary for a publisher to secure more orders to reach a specified volume, and this in turn increases the costs of marketing and servicing which must, of course, be reflected in higher prices or lower margins.

The Canadian college publisher does have one advantage over the American. Because he is a relative newcomer and does not carry an incubus of established structures and traditions that make change painful, he should be able to adjust more easily to the new conditions. Whether he will take a course not previously charted in the United States is another question.

#### STOCK AND INVENTORY

The general principles of inventory control apply to publishing as to other businesses. But two combined characteristics of Canadian publishing make the applica-

tion of the rules unusual. One is that most Canadian publishers are not only manufacturers but also wholesalers and distributors of thousands of products of other manufacturers, principally foreign. Another is that some of the products they manufacture or wholesale are intended for direct purchase by the public sector while others are purchased by retailers.

Because a publishing house is so often involved in diffuse undertakings, it faces some special problems in formulating policies for the control of its stock and inventory. Its several enterprises will not have identical peak periods of activity. The busiest period for educational publishing is late spring and summer; for trade it is generally autumn, with the exception of serious paperbacks that may have strong spring and summer sales because of educational purchasing. Because supply must be regulated so as to have stock available for these different peak periods, a publisher will have some difficulty in controlling his inventory, no matter how his year is arranged.

Even though there is no even pattern of demand, the company must have co-ordination in its policies, not only for the obvious reason that without such harmony it might disintegrate, but also because one function often overlaps another, as when, for example, a trade paperback is marketed for use in college courses. Each company must usually, then, settle for a policy that may not be ideal for each of its separate activities, but at least will not cripple any one of them. In considering some of the inventory and stock questions discussed below, one should remember that a good number of Canadian publishers have to deal with them while at the same time marketing trade books.

College and school publishing have in common certain characteristics that produce some similarity in methods of inventory control. In a well established house, books of both types published in previous seasons constitute a substantial portion of revenue, and therefore their reprinting is a most important factor in inventory policy. Also, the peak periods of activity for both types occur at roughly the same time of year. As a result, both college and school publishers endeavour to ascertain by late winter what books will be purchased, and in what quantities, in order to fit reprinting into their general plans. But some significant differences arising from dissimilarities in markets must also be considered.

Provincial book bureaus estimate their needs and place their orders earlier than colleges or school boards. Alberta, for example, will likely have notified publishers by at least early March of most of its needs for the forthcoming academic year, and British Columbia will likely have done so by the previous autumn for some titles. The publishers will ship these books in May or June. The other book bureaus operate similarly. Bureau ordering patterns have, in addition, followed a fairly consistent pattern so that a publisher has frequently in the past been able to estimate his needs on a book two or three years in advance. But the trend in most provinces toward decentralization is making such forecasting more difficult. In general, busi-

ness with book bureaus has had the advantages of bulk shipment and early ordering and payment. The gain from the first is obvious, while that from the second is important if the publisher has heavy autumn expenses.

Ontario's decentralized ordering pattern, which is spreading to other provinces, is not as symmetrical. Each school board chooses the books it will use and has its own dates for notifying publishers. Even though the Department of Education in Circular 14 has requested schools to indicate their needs to publishers by April, some boards do not comply. As a result, publishers must estimate their requirements and place their printing orders with inadequate information. They try to fill this gap with any official enrolment figures available and with data from the representatives. For reprints, they can also apply their knowledge of the history of the book concerned and of similar books; but the value of history as a criterion lessens when the situation changes, as in times of administrative re-organization, altered methods of applying provincial grants, cut-backs in budgets, or generally unfavourable economic climate.

For a new textbook, the publisher will have done market research before publication. The knowledge this has given him about possible sales in the immediate future, combined with his knowledge of comparable books and his methods of financing, enable him to set his initial quantity.

Books used in English literature courses, while not listed in Circular 14 in Ontario, are listed in other provinces, and are really textbooks from a publishing point of view. Such titles have been purchased for student use for many years, and if a company has a good background of experience in publishing them, it should be able to make just as reasonably valid predictions about stock requirements for them as for any subject.

Establishing quantities for reference texts is an even less exact procedure. The wide use of these books at the school level is a recent development, and publishers must rely largely on their representatives' ability to ascertain what areas will use them in quantity.

Estimating requirements for a school library title is still more complex because school purchases form only a percentage, significant though it may be, of total sales. The book will also be purchased by public libraries and bookstores. In provinces where a textbook bureau buys all or most of the school library books, a publisher can have an early indication of some significant quantities. Where this is not the case, he will have considerable difficulty in calculating needs. Even though he thinks certain books may be purchased in some areas, he will also know that they may be bought through jobbers serving a number of accounts, and it is difficult for him to know what portion of the jobbers' orders are for certain areas. When the books are purchased from American jobbers, the Canadian agent is omitted entirely from the process. It is not surprising, then, that Canadian publishers have considerable difficulty in maintaining a satisfactory inventory of school library books.



The returning of books to publishers is less significant a problem at the school level than at the college, but this is not to say that school publishers never accumulate inventory because of returns. Where there is no provincial textbook bureau and where there is also considerable flexibility in courses, there can be over-ordering and, therefore, possibly returns. Provincial book bureaus have also sometimes made returns, but in general they have been able to estimate needs accurately. In the future, with a greater variety of courses and wider prescriptions in the schools, the estimating by publishers of needs of local school boards and provincial book bureaus will increase in difficulty.

Sometime after January, university and college bookstores circulate book lists to their faculties and ask for any curriculum changes that will be made in the next academic year, together with estimates of enrolments. Publishers' representatives can then learn from the bookstore managers which of their books will be used, and on the basis of the bookstore's enrolment projections, other enrolment statistics, and what the publishers know of the increase or decrease in popularity of certain courses, they can in theory estimate the precise number of books needed. In practice, except for the lists for mathematics and the physical and natural sciences, which many publishers regard as reasonably accurate, the bookstore figures are considered to be less than exact instruments for measuring requirements. The answers may be accurate, but when a professor is uncertain how many students will register in a course – especially if there have been general curriculum changes – he may give some very approximate figure that can be considerably in error. In the humanities and social sciences, moreover, a professor may list twenty or more titles. The bookstore manager will then not know how many of each title to purchase. He will realize that some may never be bought by students and that others may be shared by two or three students. There is a good possibility that he will either over-order and return books later, or under-order and both he and the publisher will be faced with a frantic last minute rush.

One reason for the high returns in college publishing is the mobility of university staff. When a new teacher comes on staff and prescribes books for his course, it may be well into the summer. If he chooses a different text from his predecessor, the bookstore will have to return the old text and order the new, which may well be out of stock. The wide range of prescriptions and fluctuating enrolments also cause over-ordering, as may the establishment of new courses for which the bookstores can have no records on which to draw.

A publisher trying to estimate the quantities of books required in a university must also, of course, take into consideration the sales of second-hand books. Canadian figures on this are not available but an American college bookstore manager's experiences have appeared in *Publishers' Weekly* (6 September 1971, pp. 38-40). His dollar volume of used book sales was about one-fifth the size of new book sales volume, and the money invested in the used books returned a gross profit more

than one-third greater than a similar investment in new books would have given. So attractive was the business that before ordering from publishers he first canvassed the large used book companies. The used book business is not as highly organized in Canada as in the United States, but it is still of sufficient significance to cause errors in any estimating from enrolments.

The return of unsold books by college bookstores snarls the tidiest of inventory control procedures and has become a major problem to Canadian college publishers. The percentage of books returned varies from one company to another and from year to year, but an estimated figure of fifteen per cent of annual college volume would not be exaggerated. Canadian college publishers in general grant bookstores the privilege of returning unsold books for credit, providing they are in salable condition, but their policies are diverse. In essence, there are two types of plan. One is regulated by time: a bookstore may return any text during a period of up to one year. The other is regulated by dollar volume: a store may return any texts, no matter when bought, up to an amount equal to twenty per cent of the store's business with that publisher in the previous year.

Supply as well as demand regulates inventory and a publisher must try to have an adequate stock of his titles at all times. Having established how many copies he will need by a certain date, he must plan his manufacturing to ensure delivery by that time; delays will produce back orders and therefore add to expense. Accurate scheduling of manufacture is, therefore, extremely important. Early purchase of printing is not necessarily the answer to stock deficiencies. If the publisher places his orders too early he runs the risk of inaccurately estimating requirements, because he may not yet have acquired all the information he needs.

The extent to which a publisher can govern his supply successfully is influenced by the type of book he is manufacturing. Of all his books he should be able to control most easily the supply of the indigenous books he manufactures in Canada. Providing that the efficiency and capacity of his Canadian printer's equipment can satisfy his needs, the publisher then has the best opportunity of successfully scheduling the receipt of stock. As soon as any part of the manufacturing process takes place outside Canada, he increases the difficulty of control because of the uncertainties of shipping. In importing finished books from a foreign publisher, his dependence on factors beyond his control is at its maximum, for he is at the disposal of the efficiency of both the original publisher and the freight carriers.

#### EDUCATIONAL MARKETING IN THE INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

This paper has attempted to give a reasonably representative picture of the marketing done by Canadian educational publishers. There has been little if any attempt to judge whether the Canadian publishing industry is using the most effective methods of marketing, although the point was made indirectly that no one com-

bination of methods is likely to fit the needs of all publishers. Nor have the potential effects on marketing of improved methods of collecting information, and of electronic communications between buyer and seller, been discussed. Changes in educational practice have been referred to only as they appear to have an immediate effect on marketing. Nevertheless, the discussion has recognized that education at all levels is subject to mutations that will considerably change the markets to which educational books are directed. New developments in such areas as audiovisual materials, films, programmed instruction, individualized instruction, correlation of disciplines, and research into the measurement and evaluation of educational potentiality and achievement, will influence not only the form instructional materials will take but also, therefore, the methods that will be used to promote them.

Three contemporary developments in the North American "knowledge industry" may radically transform educational marketing in Canada. One is the formation by large corporations (many with Canadian educational publishing branches) of educational subsidiaries or services and systems divisions. Such a corporation may own one or two publishing houses, an educational equipment firm, a group offering consulting services, and perhaps a research centre for developing new products, to say nothing of holdings in media and in companies dealing with products such as office equipment and computers that may also be used in educational institutions. Such conglomerates, no matter where they are owned, could alter both educational marketing and education itself.

A second development is the "performance contract," under which a company takes over instruction and the students are tested for their progress. In effect the company is paid only for the improvement shown. The success or failure of this type of experiment is still in doubt, and indeed the validity of the measurement of the students' progress has been questioned by some experts. At this stage one cannot estimate the extent to which Canadian educators will accept contract education. Some interest has been shown and it is possible that some boards will soon experiment with it. Obviously, if conglomerates that own publishing companies should "contract" with boards of education in Canada, there would be changes in the marketing of educational books.

In a third development, a very large corporation, a research branch of a college of education, and a city school system may combine to offer classes to students and develop materials for them. The effects on education of such an approach to the creation of instructional material may differ from that of contract education, but its influence on patterns in book publishing could be as great.

Established marketing patterns in Canada indicate that Canadian publishers have built up systems that have been effective over the years for selling books in elementary and secondary schools. The publishers' long-standing relations with school boards and departments of education have been developed in working with rela-



tively constant procedures for textbook adoptions. Marketing strategies have evolved principally within the framework of a certain amount of local autonomy in Ontario and of centralized authorizations in other provinces. Changes in conditions may challenge the appropriateness of these established marketing techniques.

Competition from foreign publishers and manufacturers of various types of instructional materials is being felt by Canadian school book publishers, and as a result they must now call on all their resources. It would appear that any profit they make will be needed in their educational editorial and marketing development. If Canadian publishers ever did subscribe to the view that one of the justifications for their participation in educational publishing is the subsidization of their general publishing programs, it seems that they will have to abandon it now.

Canadian college marketing appears to be an extension of American college publishing and relies heavily on a continuing supply of foreign books. Canadian publisher-agents cannot be assured of such a supply. An alternative, the creation of comparable markets for indigenous books, requires that publishers be extremely astute.

Educational publishers must serve education by supplying it with essential materials. Their success is judged in the marketplace. If schools and colleges buy their books, publishers have operated efficiently; if they do not, publishers have failed in some part of the process that transforms the ideas of an author into books in the school. Donald Gustafson, a college publisher, commenting in *Publishers' Weekly* (15 November 1971, pp. 63-4) has pointed out that publishers may lose sight of their essential obligation to satisfy the requirements of their audience.

Teachers have jobs, publishers produce books, and booksellers have full shelves because of students, not the other way round . . . It is hardly a time for yearning for more stability and standardization . . . It seems to me that booksellers and publishers will have to be willing to suffer imaginatively through profit squeezes, and disrupted marketing theories, while the essential arguments concerning learning are being thrashed out.

Canadian publishers share with publishers in all countries the responsibility of examining whether they are discharging their basic duty efficiently. There are questions peculiar to Canada that they must also consider. One is that of American influence in Canadian publishing. It is not a new theme. "The books they use are all American, filled with inflated accounts of American independence and the glorious wars with England . . ." a citizen of Upper Canada wrote in the mid-nineteenth century. A century later the report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (the Massey Commission) commented on this recurring topic: "the uncritical use of American training institutions and therefore American educational philosophy and what are referred to as teaching aids, has certainly tended to make our educational systems less Canadian, less suited to our traditions, less appreciative of the resources of our two cultures."

This question permeates any consideration of the marketing of educational books as

it does so many other fields. It would be unfortunate if, in our deep concern as Canadians to maintain our national identity, we failed to recognize the service American publishing has performed for Canadian education through its many fine books, or to acknowledge the degree to which it and British publishing have contributed to the development of Canadian English-language publishing. If we have imitated their examples too much the fault lies in ourselves.

Whether American influence in publishing will increase or decrease in Canada will be governed by many factors. The most important may well be whether Canadian publishers will be able to produce and market successfully books that are suited to the unique needs of Canadian education. In the past this chance has been grasped too seldom, while too frequently Canadian textbooks have been imitations of American books in format and approach, promoted and sold to be used just as their prototypes were. There are, however, many evidences of the desire and ability of Canadian publishers to break from traditional patterns.

If Canadian publishers can produce and market books inspired and written to meet the various needs of Canadian students so well that teachers will recognize their uniqueness, this period of change may be one of opportunity. Certainly the climate is favourable in the schools and universities where many teachers and students are deeply concerned about the quality of the Canadian mind and spirit.

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# *The Authorization of Textbooks for the Schools of Ontario from 1846 to the Present*

VIOLA E. PARVIN DAY

The textbook has long been the most popular instrument of instruction in the hands of educators. It has at the same time provided one of the controversial issues in education, for it has been regarded both as the cause and as the solution of problems. By some people the textbook is considered indispensable, and of importance equal to the teacher; by others it is looked upon as unimportant, an impediment to learning, or a crutch for the poor teacher. Between these two extremes it may be recognized as both an important tool for the teacher and one of the chief sources of indirect experience available to the pupil.

In Ontario, and throughout Canada, there have always been a number of problems that have, from time to time, aroused discontent with textbooks used in the schools. Chief among them have been the fear of American influence through books imported into Canada; confusion over the variety of available books which prevented uniformity in the curriculum, whether desirable or not; difficulty in preparing Canadian textbooks for the limited domestic market; and disagreement over the means by which books should be distributed to the schools. An historical perspective may make it easier to understand current problems related to the publication of textbooks in Ontario.

## TEXTBOOKS IN UPPER CANADA BEFORE 1846

In 1791, when Upper and Lower Canada became separate provinces, there were few schools for the sparse population. The need for publicly supported education had not yet been recognized, but as the population increased, private elementary schools grew in number, almost always in towns and cities. Understandably, the pioneer country was not equipped to furnish either teachers or books, and depended on Britain and the United States for both. Suspicion of American textbooks and



American teachers was one factor that induced the government in Upper Canada to attempt control over some aspects of education. In 1799, the government declared that all teachers must be licensed after examination by commissioners duly appointed by the Crown. In 1807, the legislature acknowledged a much greater responsibility, and provided for the establishment of a secondary school in each of the province's eight districts.

The Reverend John Strachan, later the most prominent figure of his time in education in Upper Canada, was a teacher in one of these pioneer secondary schools. When he was unable to find an appropriate arithmetic text, he prepared one of his own for the use of his pupils. This book, later used by younger pupils as well, was entitled *A Concise Introduction to Practical Arithmetic, for the Use of the Schools*, and was published in 1809 by Nahum Mower of Montreal. As far as is known, it was the first textbook written especially for pupils in Upper Canada. In its preface, Strachan said that since his arrival in Canada ten years before he had experienced much inconvenience from the want of school books. He acknowledged that in compiling his own he had borrowed materials from other books and adapted them to Canadian use.

The Common School Act of 1816 granted £6,000 annually for school purposes to the ten districts into which the province was then divided, and provided for the establishment of an elementary school in each community with twenty children. Control of each school was left largely to three local trustees chosen by the people. These trustees were responsible for employing teachers, selecting textbooks, and prescribing courses of study. They were also required to report quarterly to the district board on the books used and the regulations in force in the school. The district boards in turn reported annually to the Lieutenant-Governor by whom they were appointed. The Common School Act provided that the district boards should have authority to apply a portion of their share of the legislative grant to the purchase of books to be distributed free to the schools. In some measure, therefore, a system of free textbooks was made possible. However, a new Common School Act of 1820 reduced the annual provincial grant, after which little or nothing apparently was done to provide free textbooks to the common schools.

In the early schools the texts and curricula were synonymous. The first class was the highest, the fourth class the lowest. The program consisted chiefly of reading, writing, spelling, parsing, analysing, and arithmetic tables. After thoroughly learning his letters in the fourth and the third classes, the child was promoted to a class which was studying the New Testament. The Bible was then the standard textbook for reading.

By the School Act of 1824, a General Board of Education was given power to prescribe textbooks and courses of study for both common and grammar schools. It had at its disposal a meagre £150 to purchase books designed for religious instruction. In 1825 Strachan, as President of the General Board, requested the purchase of

1,100 copies of the *Charity School Speller* by "that staunch churchwoman of England, Mrs. Trimmer." He also asked the Board to buy 488 copies of a treatise on Andrew Bell's monitorial system of teaching and 2,200 copies each of certain religious books such as the *Chief Truths of the Christian Religion*. Apparently the Board purchased and distributed such books in 1825 and 1826, but stopped doing so during the next three years.

Accounts of books used at the time are found in the school reports. The most striking feature is the wide variety of textbooks then in use. The local boards or teachers made their selections from a great variety. In most cases pupils used what books they could get, often copies passed down from one member of the family to another. J. A. Bannister of the Normal School in North Bay, found, in his investigation of the Norfolk County School Reports for 1828, a situation that seems to have been typical throughout the province. Twenty-three different books were being used in five subjects – reading, arithmetic, spelling, grammar, and geography.

In 1828, the Board made another attempt to provide books for children of the poor. Many of the books so distributed, such as Mavor's *Spelling Book*, were of a distinctly Church of England character, and all were imbued with approved sentiments.

In 1829, the Legislative Assembly appointed a committee on education. This committee made an extensive report which expressed a desire that something might be done to encourage the publication of textbooks in Canada. It was probably considered by parents of the time to be a new-fangled and extravagant idea, that all pupils should have the same books. The General Board did, however, consider the propriety of recommending to the district boards the use of the same books in all the schools, although such a measure would be difficult to enforce unless books could be printed in Canada for less money than they could be imported.

During the next decade, not much was done to encourage the publishing of any kind of texts in Upper Canada and complaints about the lack of standardization continued. The teachers of the day had a difficult time "forming classes" because of the great variety of texts used in the schools. Complaints also continued about the bad effects that the superfluity of American texts was having on the children of the province.

By 1838, there was of course some uniformity for the Bible was, and had been, a standard text, and books by Lindley Murray appeared on almost every list. Murray was, as it happens, a native American, born in Pennsylvania in 1745 and educated at a Quaker school. He had studied law in a New York counting house, and through legal practice and business pursuits had amassed a considerable fortune there before going to England to live in retirement and write. His first textbook, the *Grammar of the English Language*, was published in 1795. It was followed by *English Exercises*, the *English Reader*, and a spelling book. The grammar was a standard textbook for more than half the nineteenth century and for many years new grammars were

based on its contents. His *English Reader* was used during the first part of the nineteenth century in many of the schools of the United States and English-speaking Canada. One might assume that Murray's books were selected for Canadian schools because of their English origin. It is amusing that there might have been an undetected American bias in them.

The report by Lord Durham on conditions in Upper Canada in 1839 stressed the evils of permitting American textbooks to be used in the schools, and recommended that suitable texts either be sent from England or compiled and printed in Canada. By 1840, when the population of Upper Canada had grown to approximately 450,000, the need for definite control of education began to be felt. The first session of the Parliament of Canada in 1841 passed an educational bill which provided for a provincial Superintendent of Education, a board of education in each district, and township or parish commissioners. One of the duties of the commissioners was to prescribe the courses of study and the books to be used in the schools within their jurisdiction. The Board had power to apportion to each township or parish a sum for the purchase of required books.

The same session of Parliament appointed Robert Murray as Assistant Superintendent. In his report to the Governor-General two years later, he said that the township commissioners, except in a few cases, were not attending to their duties with regard to courses of study and books to be used. Many of the books being used in the schools were antiquated and teachers could not teach in class groups because of the multiplicity of texts. Parents in some cases objected to buying books because they contended that the School Act provided for the supply of books through assessment on the people of the township.

There is ample indication that the legislation was not acceptable to all. Alexander McNabb, then Acting Assistant Superintendent of Education, reported in 1845 that the prevalent textbook policy "renders classification in the schools impossible, fritters away the time and paralyzes the energies of teachers, represses the ambition and retards the progress of scholars." He suggested as a remedy that the duty of textbook selection be placed under the control of a central authority.

#### THE RYERSON PERIOD, 1846-76

Egerton Ryerson assumed the office of Superintendent of Education in 1844, and for more than thirty years he dominated the educational history of the province. He was a Methodist minister who had come into the public eye first through his writings on education as editor of the *Christian Guardian*. In 1835, he had obtained a charter for Upper Canada Academy at Cobourg, and when this institution became Victoria College in 1841, Ryerson had been named its first principal. When he took on the Superintendent's role, elementary education in Canada was without definite direction: earlier laws had not provided for enforcement, and chaos prevailed. The



problem of supplying satisfactory textbooks in sufficient quantity had not been solved. In the years that followed, Ryerson worked hard to establish a sound basis for a public educational system in the province.

His first year as Superintendent was spent visiting the United States and Europe to become acquainted with their systems of public education. It was his observation that the American state systems of education were largely borrowed from Europe, and he hoped to be able to adapt European methods for Canada without having such works modified and poisoned by the incorporation of American Republicanism. His next step was to prepare an elaborate "Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada," a blueprint for what he hoped to apply. The revised edition consisted of 191 pages and was divided into two parts. The first embodied the principles on which the proposed system was to be based, and listed fifteen subjects to be taught: biblical history and morality; reading and spelling; writing; arithmetic; grammar; geography; linear drawing; vocal music; history; natural history; natural philosophy; agriculture; human physiology; civil government; and political economy. The second part contained details of the proposed system, including textbooks.

The report contained little that was original. In his own remarks about the spirit in which it was prepared, Ryerson quoted a noted philosopher of the day: "The true greatness of a people does not consist in borrowing nothing from others, but in borrowing from all whatever is good and in perfecting whatever it appropriates." That was exactly what Ryerson attempted to do. He pointed out in his report that in Upper Canada the education of the masses had been sacrificed for the education of a select class. He wanted to see a system of universal education adapted to the needs of Canada.

Probably the systems of Ireland, Massachusetts, and Prussia gave Ryerson the most practical suggestions for development. From Prussia he learned the advantages of trained teachers and the importance of a strong central administrative authority. In Ireland he saw an intelligent solution to religious difficulties and an excellent system of national textbooks. In Massachusetts he observed an efficient system managed by popularly elected boards of trustees. He borrowed from all of these.

The letter from the Provincial Secretary which informed Ryerson of his appointment had instructed him to lose no time in devoting himself to devising such measures as might be necessary to provide proper school books. Ryerson's report dealt at length with his investigation of textbook policies in the various countries visited. In the United States, he saw disadvantages in the great variety of textbooks and an objectionable character in many of them. In France, he found that the Council of the University recommended books of merit for the use of schools and often gave prizes and honorary distinctions to their authors. In Prussia, textbooks were recommended by the school board in each province and sanctioned by the Minister of Public Instruction. In England, the Privy Council Committee had recommended a

series of textbooks for elementary schools. In Ireland, the National Board of Education had published at reduced prices a series of textbooks which were used as well in numerous schools in England, Scotland, and some of the British colonies, including Lower Canada and Newfoundland. These books had been prepared "by experienced teachers and with the greatest care." Ryerson had high praise for their intellectual and moral standards:

They are imbued throughout with the purest principles, and embrace the whole range of topics which have been recommended in the former part of this Report, as proper subjects of Common School Instruction. They also contain a great variety of information which is as interesting and useful for the common reader, as it is for the Common School.

Ryerson suggested that Canada would benefit greatly by having a provincial board of education to select school texts:

The responsible and delicate and difficult task of selecting and recommending Textbooks for Schools, can I think, be more judiciously and satisfactorily performed by a Provincial Board, or Council of Education, than by any individual superintendent. A mere recommendatory authority in such a body would, I am inclined to believe, be quite sufficient to secure the introduction and use of the proper Text-Books in Schools.

His report was used as a guide in the selection and authorization of books for the common schools of 1846, and became the foundation of the public education system in Ontario.

The government not only accepted Ryerson's proposals but asked him to frame the new education act which would implement them. The School Act which resulted was passed on 23 May 1846. It provided for the appointment of a Provincial Board of Education for Upper Canada with the three major duties of establishing a normal school for the training of teachers, recommending textbooks, and preparing regulations for the control of common schools. With regard to texts, the Board was further instructed:

To examine and recommend, or disapprove, of all Books, Plans, or Forms which may be submitted to them, with a view to their use in Schools; and no portion of the Government Grant shall be given in aid of any School in which any book is used and which has been disapproved by the Board, and of which disapproval public notice shall have been given.

The act also provided for a Superintendent of Schools for Upper Canada, giving him the power "to discourage the use of unsuitable and improper books in the schools, or school libraries, and to use all lawful means to provide for and recommend the use of uniform and approved textbooks in the schools." Such was the determination to keep out unsuitable books that the District Superintendents and trustees were also instructed to see that "no foreign Books, in the English branches of education, shall be used in any Model, or Common School, except by the express permission of the Board of Education." At the same time the powers and duties of the Visitors to Common Schools were determined. Though they were given no

specific responsibilities at this time in connection with textbooks, these Visitors, all clergymen, were instrumental later in helping to enforce the textbook law.

Previous Common School Acts had aimed at co-ordinating the various parts of the system, but had not proved very efficient. In contrast, Ryerson's system provided a straight line of authority from government to pupil through the Chief Superintendent, the District Superintendent, the trustee, and the teacher. Authority was maintained and promoted by a scheme of grants. If districts wished a school grant, they had to conform to a number of regulations. If, in turn, school sections were to receive a grant from their district, they, too, had to satisfy a number of requirements as to textbooks, qualified teachers, buildings, and equipment.

The new Board of Education was to examine and recommend or reject all books submitted to it with a view to their use in the schools. Ryerson lost no time in submitting to the Board copies of the Irish National School Books, and the terms on which he thought they could be obtained. At one of the first meetings of the new Board, in July 1846, he was directed to write a letter to the Commissioners of National Education in Dublin for definite information as to how the books could be secured from Ireland and to request permission to reprint them in Canada. In reply, the Commissioners offered to supply the Dublin editions for the schools of Canada at a price more than ninety percent below the retail selling price of the books in Britain.

At that time, although there was no native series of textbooks, a few miscellaneous texts were being published in Canada; Ryerson therefore proceeded with the adoption of the Irish series without interfering any more than was necessary with private enterprise. On 9 October 1846, the Board expressed its approbation of the "admirable series," and recommended them for general use in the common schools of Upper Canada, along with Lennie's *English Grammar*. The Board also instructed the Superintendent to make inquiries as to the terms on which booksellers might act as agents for the sale of the books, and proceeded to invite tenders for reprinting them in a style as nearly like the Dublin editions as possible at the lowest possible price to the public. Several bids with very little difference were submitted. Attempting to be fair to the publishers, or wishing to encourage all of them, the Board finally accepted none. Instead it granted all the Canadian publishers privileges of reprinting the series, but reserved the right to approve or reject the reprints as authorized texts. Several booksellers accepted this offer and two publishers in Toronto immediately began to reprint the first three of the readers.

During the next twenty years, the Irish series remained almost the only authorized textbooks in the province. Opinion about their success differed somewhat, but unquestionably they achieved a high degree of acceptance and popularity. Of importance, in view of the religious question in Upper Canada, was the fact that both Catholics and Protestants approved of them. Both religious groups were represented on the Board, and Professor C. B. Sissons has noted in his *Church and State*



in *Canadian Education* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1959) that the religious character of many selections in the readers reflected the distinctly religious complexion of the Board, as well as a capacity for common action in the field of education.

Probably the Irish National School Books were indeed the best available and most suited to the Canadian temperament in the nineteenth century. A main purpose in introducing them had been the need to achieve some standardization in the schools, and in this Ryerson felt they were successful. The authorized readers were accepted throughout the province as the means of classifying pupils and estimating their progress. By 1866, Ryerson could report that uniformity was so settled that he need not adduce the arguments and authorities of educators in other countries, as he had done in previous reports, to show the importance of one series of textbooks for public schools. Canada had succeeded in establishing uniformity, he declared, beyond any country in Europe, or any of the states in America, and there remained only the tasks of making these books as perfect in matter and method, and as good in quality and moderate in price, as possible.

#### FROM CROOKS TO HARCOURT, 1876 TO 1906

Following the retirement of Ryerson, the central educational authority was re-organized. The office of the Chief Superintendent was abolished and a Department of Education, headed by a minister, was established with the power to make regulations for the authorization of textbooks. The first Minister of Education was Adam Crooks, a lawyer and politician of United Empire Loyalist descent, who exercised extreme caution in making changes in the system Ryerson had established. However, he did withdraw grants from such agencies as the *Journal of Education* which had been sent free to all teachers, school officials, and other interested persons. In the absence of the journal, there was confusion over which books were authorized as textbooks and which were not. The Department then began sending out a circular containing current textbook regulations and lists of the authorized textbooks of all kinds for all types of schools. In 1877 the regulations were amended and a change was made in the method of dealing with copyright. The copyrights for some books had been held by Ryerson himself. Under Crooks the copyrights were to be held by the publishers, with the Department protecting the public by fixing a maximum retail price. This plan did not work, however, for before long the Minister of Agriculture was holding the copyrights.

Although Crooks was not completely convinced of the necessity for standard texts throughout the province, he continued Ryerson's basic policy. Books continued to be expensive, and there was criticism of the number of them, the frequent changes, and the lack of knowledge about which ones were authorized and which were not.

In 1883, George Ross succeeded Crooks as Minister of Education. He adopted a strict policy of governmental control of the publication and use of texts, simplified the course of study, and reduced the number of subjects, with one text for each subject. Books revised during the eighties, particularly the new readers, were, however, severely criticized as hackwork: their selections were taken from several books, but overall they bore a startling resemblance to the Irish National Readers. By 1888 the annual list of authorizations had become known as Circular 14, and under this title it is still issued each year by the Department of Education to report textbooks approved and recommended for elementary and secondary schools.

By 1899, when Ross was elected Premier of Ontario and Richard Harcourt became Minister of Education, there had been an infiltration of new ideas about education, accompanied by a demand that additional subjects such as physiology, domestic science, and music be taught. These new subjects required new texts. It was not long until there was such a controversy over the number and cost of books that it became a major issue in the 1905 provincial election, in which the Ross administration was defeated.

#### TEXTBOOK REVISION, 1906-36

The new government of James Whitney had promised the voters inexpensive textbooks in its campaign platform, and in fulfillment appointed a commission in 1906 to "enquire into and report upon the reasonableness of the prices of books on the authorized list and to enquire into the prices of such publications elsewhere." The Commissioners held public meetings, visited the largest publishing establishments in the United States, examined the texts made in Great Britain and Ireland, and familiarized themselves with all of the processes and materials by which, and with which, texts were made. In 1907, they reported that textbooks in Ontario had "fallen behind the times." They concluded that most of the books then published were no better than those produced twenty years before, although within that time book-making elsewhere had made rapid progress. The Commission blamed the educational authorities, inspectors, and teachers for this general inferiority and insisted that textbooks as good as those produced elsewhere could be produced in Canada if the authorities would require a high standard of work.

In their report, the Commissioners reviewed three possible methods of producing textbooks. First, they suggested that the Department might select an author to prepare a textbook, and then engage a publisher and fix the price at which the text would be sold to the public. (This had been the method in general followed by the previous two Ministers, but the Commissioners felt that an author selected by the Department was not necessarily the best available, and that with the price pre-arranged, the publishers had been forced to hew very close to the line to make any profit.) Second, they suggested that the Department of Education might prepare

its own textbooks – commission their writing, make the plates, own all copyrights, and have the books printed by tender. (They pointed out, however, that this would be an expensive and cumbersome plan for one province to adopt and was feasible only if all the provinces could agree on texts for the whole of Canada.) Third, they suggested that the whole matter of writing and publishing textbooks should be thrown open to competition. In this way, a book might be produced which would be suitable for several provinces instead of just one, and authors and publishers would be motivated to produce textbooks of the highest quality of which they were capable. This last plan, they felt, was the best of the three, provided that the Department maintained uniformity in the textbooks used in all schools, especially in the elementary schools. They felt, too, that textbooks should be authorized for only a limited period, presumably in order to make certain that they were kept up to date.

In addition to these general statements and recommendations, the Commission filed a detailed report which was later used as the basis for some changes in the provincial textbook system.

While awaiting the Textbook Commission's report, the Department of Education had made few changes in the authorized lists.

It did, however, secure a reduction in the price of the Ontario Readers. The agreement with the publishers had expired in 1906 but had, as an emergency measure, been renewed for six months pending the Commission's report. At the end of this period, tenders were called for printing the readers for another eighteen months. The Canada Publishing Company's bid was accepted, and the readers which had retailed at \$1.30 per set were sold at forty-nine cents. The Commission felt that there had been "profiteering" under the former government and that the latter price was reasonable.

In October, 1907, the Minister announced that a new set of readers was to be prepared under the supervision of D. J. Goggin, a school man with expert knowledge of printing and binding. A committee of representative teachers was selected to assist Goggin with advice and experience. In 1909, the printing of the new readers was let out by tender following the Commission's second suggested method. The sole right to print and publish them was awarded to the T. Eaton Company Limited, but ownership of the plates remained with the province. The task of printing was indeed enormous, but Eaton's was able to keep the price down because it was using its printing facilities when they were not needed for printing catalogues.

An important factor in the development of the new readers in such a relatively short time, and in keeping their price down, was the considerable amount of copyright material they contained, much of it from British and American sources. The Minister praised the great courtesy of the authors and the publishing firms at home and abroad in allowing this use of their property.



By 1910, the revision of basic textbooks for the elementary schools of Ontario was completed, and the new books were printed and ready. The old books which the schools had been allowed to use during the period of revision were then removed from the list. Most of the revised texts remained on the authorized list with little or no change until 1936, and some were used as late as 1950. There was scarcely any choice: only one textbook for each subject was authorized, and additional books were recommended only as supplementary to the texts.

The Textbook Commission had recommended in 1907 that a separate textbook office be established in the Department of Education, and in 1912 this was done. The office was put in charge of an editor who has subsequently carried various titles, including General Editor of Textbooks, Editor of Textbooks, and Editor-in-Chief of Textbooks. Goggin was the first man in the job. When it was deemed necessary or desirable to introduce a new text, or to revise an old one, the General Editor made calculations as to the actual cost of production, ascertained on the basis of attendance the possible number of copies needed, and made allowances for overhead charges. He also arranged for royalties and trade discounts, and then recommended a retail price for the consideration of the Minister of Education.

The Minister announced in 1911 that the textbook problem was nearly solved. He had been able to reduce again the number of books to one authorized text in each subject, and had specified that this text should be Canadian-made unless an English book already on the market was obviously superior. In an attempt to avoid frequent or abrupt changes in textbooks, he had set seven years as the ordinary period of authorization. By selecting and employing his own editors, he had been able to gain outright ownership of the copyright of the more important books, such as the readers. He was now able to exercise full control over the contents, mechanical form, and price of each book, whether the Department had selected and remunerated the editors or the publisher paid them a royalty on books sold. He administered these policies through the Editor-in-Chief of Textbooks and through the committees on revision of textbooks which consisted of prominent teachers. By tenders, contracts, and payments of subventions to publishers, he had been able to reduce the costs of producing textbooks. (These subventions, which were calculated over and above the basic costs of manufacturing texts, were an allowance which defrayed the publisher's overhead and allowed him a reasonable profit. But the retail price, which was plainly marked on the cover of the textbook – for example, "T. Eaton Primer—4¢," – did not include the subvention and so the real costs of the texts were hidden from the public.)

The three decades after 1906 were comparatively free from complaints by Canadians about the American influence of textbooks. Though casual criticism was heard in certain quarters, the Department of Education by this time had been able to prepare books locally, and no books, either American or British, were authorized for school use if they did violence to the Canadian spirit or ideals. Precedence

was given at all times to a Canadian text, and failing this, a British one. If either was available, then, according to policy, no American book would be chosen.

In 1909, as the Department was just completing the new series for elementary schools, teachers began to voice their dissatisfaction with those new books which were already in use. The publishers were more bitter in their criticisms of them. There was little change in the textbook system, however, and during the first world war there was indeed great difficulty in supplying books of any kind in sufficient quantities for the schools. After the war, scientific research began to gain a new prominence, and education reached a stage known to educators, especially to reading specialists, as the utilitarian period, when textbook material began to be judged on the basis of its usefulness in a practical framework. This was the age of testing, and objective reading tests were developed based on the Ontario Readers.

When H. J. Cody became Minister of Education in 1918, he remarked that the times called for a new look at educational policies and that the courses of study should be adapted and textbooks revised to meet changed post-war conditions. His plans for textbook revision did not materialize, however, and for the next few years problems which seemed more urgent than textbooks absorbed the educational authorities. Such revisions as were necessary to make textbooks acceptable were guided by significant developments in educational thought. Much attention was given to the preparation of secondary school texts, but only minor changes were made in the 1907-11 editions for most subjects at the elementary level. As new agreements replaced expiring contracts, the grey T. Eaton readers got new red covers, and the *Ontario Public School Grammar and Composition*, published in 1920 by the Copp Clark Company, was replaced in 1928 by *Composition and Grammar for Public Schools*, published by Watchman Press in Oshawa. But the books remained essentially the same.

In the early 1930s some attempt was made to revise the now-venerable Ontario Readers. A small committee of leading primary teachers of the province was asked by the Department in 1932 to prepare material for a new book. This committee examined primary reading material from many sources and by midsummer of 1933 had completed its work. The book was a new primer, *Mary, John and Peter*, which replaced the original primer of the Ontario Readers in 1933. It, too, was published by the T. Eaton Company and the retail price remained four cents. The new primer had a favourable reception. Inspectors and teachers reported that beginners made more rapid progress and took a greater interest in reading than they had with the old primer. Whether or not it was the intention of the committee to make it so, *Mary, John and Peter* turned out to be a kind of compromise between the American readers with their controlled vocabularies and pedantic repetitions and the more literary type. It remained on the list until 1950.

Under the supervision of the Department, committees of teachers set out to re-

view the other readers of the series. Before anything of significance had been completed, however, the major curriculum revision of 1937-8 took place.

#### CHANGING CONCEPTS IN EDUCATION

Between 1928 and 1937, an extensive revision of the curricula of schools was carried out in every province of Canada. Ontario was among the last to attempt the task. The whole concept of education was changing. It was now child-centred and activity-centred, rather than fact-centred. The philosophy of John Dewey was taking hold and the school had begun to be considered not merely a place where pupils got ready for life, but a part of life itself.

Although the changes which took place in Ontario during this period were not isolated but the results of evolution, their actual introduction into courses of study was rather abrupt. In December 1936, a committee of two men, Stanley Watson and Thornton Mustard, was appointed to study and revise the elementary school curriculum. In time for the opening of the school year in 1937, the committee had submitted its course of study for the first six grades, and by 1938 had completed a course of study for grades seven and eight. Though the change was not wholeheartedly accepted, these courses of study continued in use, almost unchanged, through 1950.

The new programs ushered in new ideas about teaching methods. They argued that education must be in keeping with the nature of the child, that the function of the school is to provide an environment for the development of the child's best natural tendencies, and that since children of elementary school age are naturally active, the school program must provide purposeful activity. This had important implications for textbook policy. For one thing, the idea that pupils should do research made necessary a considerably expanded list of books. The text was to have a new role: it was no longer to be the fount of all wisdom but a spur to the pupil to search out information for himself.

The idea that youngsters should enjoy school and that school life and learning should match their own maturation brought changes in organization. The elementary schools were divided into eight grades instead of the traditional books or forms. New readers, which had already been prepared, were introduced to match these grades. This was the first change in most readers since minor revisions in the Ontario Readers during the early twenties.

The new readers were different in a number of respects. Though still anthologies, they contained a wider range of material than was found in the old Ontario Readers. They were designed to inculcate a love for good literature and a wider reading of worthwhile books. Teachers were earnestly advised to teach fewer lessons intensively and to encourage in their pupils the habit of extensive reading.

The review of authorized texts started in the 1930s has continued since. Between



1944 and 1946, a group of inspectors studied the readers authorized for grades three to eight. Using established techniques, they analysed each selection on the basis of vocabulary difficulty and length and complexity of sentences. They found that, by accepted standards of the day, material in all the readers introduced in the 1930s was poorly related to the grades for which they were authorized. They also made a detailed examination of the vocabulary of the readers with regard to such factors as the number of uncommon words and the introduction and repetition of new words. They found very little evidence, by modern criteria, of vocabulary control. They recommended that a new series of basic reading books with controlled vocabularies be introduced, with selection based on content, literary quality, readability, and vocabulary. They suggested that boards should be advised to provide at least two different series of each grade.

The former method of having books prepared under departmental direction was partially abandoned with the curriculum revision in 1936. After that, selections of books for authorization were made by committees appointed for the purpose. When it was decided that a new textbook was needed for a subject, the Department notified the publishers that such a book (usually at a given price) could be submitted to the selection committee for examination. In many cases, the selection committees recommended and supervised alterations or revisions in the chosen books to adapt them to the requirements of the course of study, or to make them more suitable for use in the schools. In some cases an American book was chosen on condition that certain changes be made.

Teachers were often included in the committee delegated to write or adapt books for elementary schools. They were paid by the hour, as were other committee members, or at the rate of ten dollars per day for their services, plus travelling expenses connected with the task. The payment was taken from a fund set aside for the preparation of textbooks.

The basic regulations regarding the use of authorized textbooks in the elementary schools of Ontario remained essentially the same throughout the entire period of this study. However, the term "authorization" changed somewhat in meaning. By this time a book was considered authorized when a contract for its publication was drawn between the Minister of Education and its publishers and ratified by an Order-in-Council. The standard form of contract set rigid specifications for paper, printing, and binding, and provided for inspection of the manufacturing processes; provided for the work of printing and publishing to be done in Ontario at union rates of wages; set the retail sales price and discount rates; set a term to the contract and required the publisher to furnish a bond for due performance; provided for renewal, withdrawal, or cancellation by either party; guaranteed supply; and granted either an exclusive right or a joint right with other books for use of the text in specified grades. By this method of authorization, the Department controlled the quality and price of textbooks. Exclusive use was still assured by law.

## SOME DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1950

In 1950 a Royal Commission that for five years had been studying the education system of Ontario made its report. It had questioned the textbook policies of the Department of Education and found much room for improvement. Many of its recommendations had, however, been anticipated by the Department and implemented before the report was published.

After careful consideration the Commission recommended termination of the nineteenth-century system of authorization of one book for each subject. Instead it proposed a plan for multiple authorizations.

The value of the text as a guide or supplement for both pupil and teacher was acknowledged, and the strong influence of the textbook on pupils' attitudes was recognized. The Commissioners felt that textbooks played an indispensable part in any system of group teaching, and that time and effort could be saved for both pupil and the teacher by their use. For the teacher, the text could serve as a guide to the content and organization of a course, and for the pupil it could be used to prepare for, or to supplement, classroom teaching. The Commissioners also recognized the importance of the textbook in influencing children's attitudes. They concluded, however, that a single textbook, even a good one, combined with a fixed course of study had a limiting effect. Matters of local interest were not emphasized and schools could not easily adjust courses to local needs. The pupil might therefore dismiss as unimportant topics not dealt with in the text. Changing interests and conditions demanded freedom to make necessary adjustments, and this was not possible when one textbook was authorized for a long period of years.

The Commissioners concluded that only in rare cases was there necessity for the preparation of a textbook by the Department. Preparation of the books by publishers would provide a greater variety of content with more efficiency, and would also give the publishers more incentive and more scope than they previously had to produce good books. Accordingly, they made the following recommendations:

- (a) that the system of textbook authorization requiring the use of only one specified textbook in certain subjects or grades, be discontinued;
- (b) that the system, whereby the Department of Education subsidizes the cost of production of authorized textbooks, be discontinued;
- (c) that a system of multiple authorizations, whereby each board of trustees will be free to choose a textbook, or textbooks, for any subject or grade from a list of approved titles prepared by the Department of Education, be instituted;
- (d) that school boards continue to be authorized to provide, free of charge, textbooks and other approved classroom supplies to pupils in attendance in elementary and secondary schools and in special education classes during the period of compulsory school attendance, and that expenditures incurred for the purchase of textbooks selected from an approved list issued by the Department, and for other approved classroom supplies, be included as a cost of operating for general legislative grant purposes.

This complete set of recommendations concerning textbooks, with few modifications, became effective in 1950. Authorization of single textbooks was discon-

tinued and the policy of approved lists adopted to the end of the tenth grade. The practice of subsidizing publishers was discontinued. The school boards were given one year to implement the changes. A cycle was completed. Ontario had gone from a multiplicity of texts to a limited list and to a multiple list again.

In 1956, the textbook office of the Department of Education was abolished. Its functions were merged with the newly created Curriculum and Textbook Branch which today is still expanding its services.

About a decade of relative calm in textbooks followed. A study in 1964 found that the recommendations of the Commission were still being carried out, and that it seemed unlikely the province would return to the restricted central control which had been in effect for more than a century. The school boards now chose the textbooks for all grades from a long list. By the 1963-4 school year, Circular 14 had grown to a 54-page booklet with two four-page supplements: the number of titles listed had risen from 61 in 1950 to 462 in 1964. But there was again some concern about multiplicity of textbooks.

Pupils were no longer required to buy the many books they used. The free textbook system which had been attempted many times in the past was made easier by government grants. The law provided in 1951 that boards be reimbursed for the amounts they spent in 1950, up to three dollars per pupil in average daily attendance, for textbooks furnished free to the pupils in grades one to eight. New legislation in 1964 for the first time extended free textbooks to grades nine and ten: a grant of twelve dollars per pupil was provided for the 1964-5 school year to establish a free textbook system for these grades, and thereafter a lesser grant was to be given to maintain the system. In 1965 similar provisions were made for a grant of twenty dollars per pupil for free textbooks in grades eleven and twelve.

In 1965, a Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario was appointed to inquire into and report upon the means whereby modern education could meet the current and future needs of children and society. This committee, headed by Mr. Justice Hall and L. A. Dennis, recommended that school staffs use the textbook as one source of information for students rather than as the basic organizing tool for courses of study. It further recommended that the Department of Education improve the communication process between the Canadian Textbook Publishers' Institute (now the Canadian Educational Publishers' Group, a part of the Canadian Book Publishers' Council) and responsible educational bodies in the development of educational materials. The Hall-Dennis report, *Living and Learning*, appears to have had results similar to those of a curriculum manual by the same title that was in use in the United States twenty years ago. Teachers, children, and parents have been included in the planning of curriculum projects at the local level. More people have become involved in the evaluation and selection of textbooks to be approved by the Department of Education.

Although the Hall-Dennis committee seemed to deplore a nationalistic approach



to education, it suggested that textbooks be Canadian products whenever possible. The best way, it seemed to say, to resist undue American influence is for Canada to have its own self-identity.

Newspaper publicity today is reminiscent of the pre-Ryerson period. Although the bulk of comment in the newspapers and periodicals has been directed at the economic take-over of Canadian publishing firms by Americans, there are still complaints about Yankee flag-waving in textbooks. One school principal's article prepared for a teachers' magazine, for example, attempted to determine how far the American influence had penetrated the schools, and expressed concern that unless Canadians place more emphasis on their heritage, the differences will become blurred. (*Toronto Daily Star*, 14 June 1969.) The concern is not new and there is no ready answer, but it presents a reason for more interprovincial co-operation.

In recent years some effort has been made to analyse the content of textbooks and to determine their role in the curriculum. Among such research is a study by Edison J. Quick of the development of geography and history curricula in the elementary schools of Ontario from 1946 to 1966. His study confirmed that since Ryerson's day most curriculum development in Ontario schools has been initiated and controlled by the Department of Education. This central authority has designed the courses of study, controlled the development and authorization of the textbooks which amplified the courses, and supervised the implementation of the curriculum by uniform provincial examination and inspection. As a result the school programs have reflected the personal philosophy of a few powerful men. Quick predicted that such dominant educators will never again have the same degree of influence on the curriculum as was common in the past, since there is some decentralization of decision-making with respect to curricula. He saw textbook teaching as the greatest obstacle to curriculum improvement. Many of the social studies books he studied had not been revised in more than ten years, and he observed students filling notebooks with summaries from the texts. Despite the multiple choice of textbooks from the approved lists, the central selection of books still tended to create a standard approach throughout the province.

More recent changes in the Department's policies seem to have encouraged publishers to develop a variety of material to enable teachers to use other approaches. Dr. K. F. Prueter of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education was quoted in *Quill and Quire*, August 1967, as forecasting that textbooks would be programmed and sequenced into lessons involving maximum student participation, and that they would constantly refer to further sources of information on tape, teletutor, filmstrip, or recording. Textbooks do have a less dominant role now in the classroom. More publishers recognize that a text alone is inflexible for current teaching methods and they are preparing kits of supplementary materials. But even with the other media and the increasing number and new look of textbooks, real change comes slowly.

A recently published report, *Teaching Prejudice*, is the result of a study initiated by the Ontario Rights Commission after members of the public complained about the ways in which certain groups were portrayed in Ontario textbooks. The study, carried out at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, analysed the content of all social studies textbooks authorized for use in the schools of Ontario. The purpose, according to the Honourable William Davis, then Minister of Education, was not just to remove material which may be offensive to certain groups, but also to make certain that textbooks do contain material which reflects the contributions of many peoples in the development of Canada. Though some doubts have been raised about the methodology of the research and some objection to the implication in the title of intentional bias, the study is an important one that breaks new ground in textbook analysis. The Department of Education has been in no hurry, however, its officials say, to replace the textbooks accused of teaching prejudice. They say that replacing textbooks is an evolutionary process, and that the Department is not a censor but an evaluator selecting books for approval.

In an attempt to eliminate the traditional white middle-class content of most texts for mixed racial and cultural groups of children, some Toronto schools have adapted the American Bank Street readers for Canadian use. These books are aimed at avoiding stereotypes such as those found in the "Dick and Jane" reading series which were finally replaced after more than a quarter of a century.

There has been growth, but essentially the system for approving and prescribing textbooks has changed little in the past twenty years. Circular 14 is still issued by the Department, and at the time this was written in September 1971, had grown to a ninety-three page book with one eight-page supplement already out and a second supplement ready for distribution. The number of titles included as approved for the school year 1971-2 had swelled to 1,648. Publishers have complained that the market has been so fragmented by the many changes that there is no profit in their business. There are now said to be impending plans for annotation of the list. Some principals and teachers would welcome such an innovation, since about all they know of a book which appears in Circular 14 is its classification, title, publisher, and price. Some department officials, on the other hand, fear that if there is an annotated list some selection committees may choose books from the circular rather than from their own examination and evaluation.

In 1968 stimulation grants were abolished. In their place one general legislative grant was made available to school boards for whatever purpose it was needed. This change became effective in 1969 and in that year the grant was \$450 per pupil in annual daily enrolment, approximately 10% more than the grant for 1968. In subsequent years there have been similar annual increments.

Teaching methods and the status of the textbook have changed with the promotion of new educational theories and technological advances – not the least of which is the copying machine. Yet in one typical grade nine classroom in Toron-

to, each of the thirty pupils was issued thirteen textbooks for his own use, or 390 for the group, during the current school year. A great number of consumable workbook-type texts are being used, especially in the early school years. The textbook is not quite finished. But the text is used principally for reference; even where teachers do still follow it as a guide, it is not the whole course of study as in the past.

The great changes that have taken place are not reflected in the textbook laws, which remain basically the same as they have been over the past hundred years. The following regulations still appear in the Circular 14 for 1971.

20 (1) A teacher shall not use or permit to be used as a textbook in a prescribed subject in an elementary or secondary school any book that is not approved by the Minister or the regulations, and the Minister, upon the report of the inspector concerned, may withhold the whole or any part of the legislative grants in respect of any school in which an unapproved book is so used.

(2) Where a teacher uses as a textbook, or negligently or wilfully permits to be used as a textbook by the pupils of his school, in a prescribed subject, a book that is not approved by the Minister or the regulations, the Minister, on the report of the inspector of the school, may suspend the teacher and the board that operates the school may deduct from the teacher's salary a sum equal to so much of the legislative grants as has been withheld on account of the use of the book or any less sum at its discretion.

(3) Subject to the written approval of the board that operates the school, a teacher may replace any approved textbook that is in actual use in an elementary or secondary school by any other approved textbook on the same subject.

22 (2) It is the duty of a principal, in addition to his duties as a teacher,  
(f) to prevent the use by pupils of textbooks that are not authorized by the regulations or prescribed by the Minister.

Whether or not these regulations are being enforced as rigidly as in the past they are still the law, and the only revision predicted is that a teacher's salary will not be withheld. (There is no evidence that any teacher's salary has ever in fact been docked for this reason.) The title of inspector has been changed to supervisor. Local boards of education employ supervisors, who are certified and approved by the Department and are charged with the obligation to see that the regulations are carried out.

The provision of suitable instructional materials for children and youth in a changing society is a continuous process. It is quite probable that the increased use of media other than the printed page, together with copying machines, will eliminate the textbook. Until this happens many Canadians express hope that the reading material which will be required may be completely supplied by Canadian publishers, when educational research in Canada has been sufficiently developed to serve as a basis for the production of texts. Although the textbook question does not receive the same emphasis it had in the days when the book was the whole course of study and the most important tool in teaching, it remains controversial.



VIOLA E. PARVIN DAY taught in elementary and high schools in Tennessee from 1941 to 1947, and for six years after that was supervisor of schools in that state. In the latter position she served as chairman of a textbook evaluation committee. She then spent five years in teacher training colleges. Since coming to Canada she has been involved in research into Canadian textbook publication, and as part of doctoral studies at the University of Toronto carried out an historical study of textbooks in Ontario.

# *Textbook Selection in the Other Canadian Provinces*

F. L. BARRETT

Canadian textbook publishers have never been unaware of the textbook needs of the eastern and western stretches of the country. In the early years of Canada's development it was natural, however, to give pre-eminence to Ontario, where the school population was both larger and more concentrated. Moreover, the other provinces were often willing to adopt and use Ontario texts, and a trip across Canada once or twice a year to show these texts to the other departments of education brought as much return in sales as though the publisher had had local offices in each of the provinces. Thus, through circumstance and not design, the early market was the Ontario market and the publishing industry grew up in and around Toronto.

Today the situation vis à vis the other provinces is markedly changed. If school population alone is considered, the total of British Columbia (half a million), the Prairies (one million), and the Atlantic provinces (half a million) equals Ontario (two million), with Quebec (one million) tipping the balance. If dollars are considered, the continuance of free texts, rental schemes, and grant allowances provide greater per-pupil assistance in each of the other nine provinces than in Ontario. And if market location is considered, then the speed and comfort of present-day travel have done much to reduce the handicap of distance.

But these positive advantages for the publisher are negated to a large degree by a determined cutting away in the other provinces from dependence on Ontario texts, and by strong local feelings of initiative and independence. Accordingly, the market in the other provinces is not an easy substitute for sales lost in Ontario. The situation is not an "either-or" one. What follows is a review and summary of the present policies and procedures in the other provinces with regard to the selection of texts, their place in the program, the means of distribution, and the grant allowances that support them.

### THE CLIMATE OF CHANGE

Although the different Canadian provinces have reacted individually to the "knowledge explosion," not one has ignored it. Courses of study that were once regarded as almost sacrosanct have been subjected to steely-eyed review. Some of the old courses have been abandoned; the rest have been drastically changed. As well, new courses have proliferated – courses designed to touch the relevant issues of the time; courses to encourage research and discovery as opposed to the memorization of fact.

Significantly, these changes have been brought about by the involvement in committees of representatives from all levels of the educational structure – the provincial curriculum branches, the faculties of education, the universities, the teachers' colleges, the consulting and supervisory services, and the high schools and elementary schools, both urban and rural. New Brunswick will serve as an example, although perhaps somewhat extreme, of one result of the urge for change through the committee process. Its 1970-1 Directory of Provincial Curriculum Sub-Committees shows forty-nine committees covering fifty-one subjects in the general, business, and industrial programs, and lists about three hundred people, an average of six to seven per committee, from the levels noted above.

Not all the provinces are as ambitious as New Brunswick, but, across the country, change is in everyone's bones. The differences that may be detected from province to province are not in responsiveness to change but rather in the subject areas chosen and the rate at which change goes forward.

The publisher has no argument against such educational change. He knows as well as the educator that programs and texts must respond to new philosophies, to new pedagogy, and to new social circumstances. But the publisher's business is built on the number of times that he can sell the same text. It is not, contrary to popular belief, built on the number of times that he can enter the market with a revision or a new text. Thus, the present emphasis on change is completely counter to the publisher's financial interests. The addition of more courses means fewer pupils taking each course; the constant revision of courses means a shorter lifetime for each text; the introduction of lists of alternative texts sharpens competition but reduces sales; the use of other teaching aids (films, transparencies, tapes, etc.) limits the demand for new texts. In a country with only about six million students at all levels of education (Report of the Economic Council of Canada, January 1970), we are reaching a point where some courses have such low enrolments that Canadian publishers cannot afford to provide texts for them.

### THE TEXTBOOK SELECTION PROCESS

The preparation of new programs and the review of programs already in use are functions of the curriculum branch in each of the provincial departments of education. The branch recommends to the Minister the programs that require considera-



tion, attends to the setting up of committees, and, through its staff of consultants, provides committee members with information and direction. Usually both a work committee and a review committee are set up, the first from people active in the field (New Brunswick's sub-committees are a good example) and the other from people in the curriculum branch. The latter take the responsibility for organizing and shaping the material for the Minister's approval, as well as seeing to its publication and distribution to the schools.

Despite the importance of these committees to the publisher, there is no uniform means of making their existence known to him. In some provinces – Alberta, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia – the notice that a program is under review usually appears in the monthly curriculum bulletin. Sometimes this gives detailed information and names the committee members; sometimes it is the soul of brevity:

#### *Language Arts*

Ad hoc committees are designing a literature elective and a communications elective. Another ad hoc committee is reviewing all novels and plays presently recommended for the core English courses. A further ad hoc committee is developing a handbook for teaching Secondary Language Arts.

(from the *Alberta Curriculum Bulletin*, December 1970.)

In other cases, publishers are notified by letters which outline the scope of committee activity and request texts for examination.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT BRANCH  
BRITISH COLUMBIA  
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

May 26, 1971

To Publishers:

Re: Submissions for Years 3, 4, 5, and 6 Elementary Social Studies

An advisory committee to the Department of Education is engaged in a revision of the elementary social studies programme. At this time the Curriculum Development Branch would welcome submissions of books and other materials which publishers feel might be suitable for the Years 3, 4, 5, and 6 courses. Material submitted will be referred to the committee for review and possible recommendation for adoption.

Although the outlines are still under consideration, the general organization is definite enough to permit a request for submissions.

As the Committee wishes to begin its review of submissions by June 28, the Department would appreciate receiving complimentary review copies prior to that time. There is no need to resubmit materials previously submitted. The Committee's work would be facilitated if you could send twelve review copies of each text submitted.

Thank you for your attention to this request.

Yours very truly,  
W. D. Oliver,  
Curriculum Consultant.

WDO:kr

CURRICULUM BRANCH  
1181 Portage Avenue - Room 411  
Winnipeg 10

June 16, 1970.

Dear Sir,

Early in the fall of this year a committee will be established to review and recommend the inclusion of primary and secondary materials for the teaching of K to 6 Mathematics in the province of Manitoba. In this regard we are inviting you to provide us with fifteen complimentary copies of materials you may have in the forementioned grade levels. The materials received will be reviewed by all members of the committee and decision will be made respecting their possible use.

The two kinds of materials, mentioned earlier, are classified as follows:

*Primary* - textbook nature and applicable to the mathematics program.

*Secondary* - instructional software of a print or non-print nature, specific to a particular program but not necessarily supporting the program in its entirety.

Because of limited storage space, we would appreciate if these materials are forwarded to be received during the week of September 7-11, 1970. I would appreciate, also, an early statement of the materials you will be sending.

Thank you very much for your interest and cooperation.

Yours very truly,  
Peter M. Luba,  
Curriculum Consultant.

PML/es

GOUVERNEMENT DU QUEBEC  
MINISTÈRE DE L'ÉDUCATION  
DIRECTION GÉNÉRALE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT ÉLÉMENTAIRE ET SECONDAIRE

le 2 juin 1971

*Monsieur le Directeur des Éditions*

Le Service pédagogique de l'enseignement de l'histoire et de la géographie à la Direction générale de l'Enseignement élémentaire et secondaire désire soumettre à l'étude des Spécialistes les ouvrages dont les titres apparaissent au bas de cette page.

A cet égard, vous seriez bien aimable de nous faire tenir dans les meilleurs délais 8 exemplaires, sans engagement de notre part.

Par la même occasion, auriez-vous l'obligeance de remplir en deux copies la formule ci-jointe et de nous la faire tenir par retour du courrier.

Recevez, Monsieur le Directeur, l'expression de nos sentiments distingués.

Le Responsable de l'Équipe  
des manuels scolaires  
Guy Desilets.

These announcement letters are, in most respects, similar to the letters sent out by the Ontario Curriculum Branch. These, too, give notice that a committee has been established for the purpose of setting up a program and they invite the publisher's response. The Ontario letters are sent, however, at the point of decision to investigate a certain subject area and, hence, while the implications are no less obvious, there is not quite the same note of urgency.

## ONTARIO DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

June 12, 1970.

Dear Sir:

This is to inform you that a Curriculum Committee has been established to prepare guidelines for English in the Senior Division, to replace RP-S4 and S4. The proposed guidelines would bring a consistent approach to English in the Intermediate and Senior Divisions and re-examine English in a post-Dartmouth context. The Committee will be under the chairmanship of Mr. W. G. Mitchell.

Should your company be interested in the preparation and publication of a textbook for the guidelines being developed by this Committee, it would be appreciated if you would indicate your interest by letter addressed to the undersigned. After the Committee has been given a reasonable length of time to make some progress on the work, the publisher and his author may wish to meet with the Curriculum Committee Chairman prior to or during the writing of a text. Such a request should be made by the publisher to the undersigned who will arrange the meeting with all concerned.

In lieu of, or in addition to the preparation and publication of a textbook for the guidelines being developed, your company may have titles that you might wish to have considered for listing in a bibliography. A list of these titles should be forwarded to the undersigned who will bring it to the attention of the Committee Chairman.

It is hoped by using the procedure as outlined above that publishers may be kept informed of curriculum developments.

Yours sincerely,

F. J. McAllister,

Assistant Superintendent of Curriculum.

No information is available as to the publishers who receive the notices above, but one may assume that they are the houses whose other texts are already listed in the various provincial textbook lists. Without doubt they are the ones whose sales representatives call regularly at the curriculum branches and who make their texts available for inspection and review. While curriculum personnel in all provinces are generous with help and advice, the prime responsibility for keeping informed as to the changes taking place and the materials required rests with the publisher. If he does not take this responsibility seriously and insist that his representatives inquire concerning programs that are docketed for review or implementation, he must accept the resulting loss in sales.

## THE COMMITTEE AT WORK

The curriculum committees begin work either with outlines and statements of goals and objectives prepared for them, or else take the first several meetings to decide these. The textbooks which the publishers submit are then judged to see whether or not they present the necessary concepts, whether or not the concepts are arranged in proper sequence, and whether the method used is simply descriptive or involves the pupil in seeking alternative solutions and in research.



Generally, during this period, publishers are free to approach committee members, although in British Columbia the anonymity of committee members is protected and they are asked not to talk to publishers about the committee's work. In B.C. and elsewhere, however, when the choice has narrowed down, publishers may be asked to appear before the committee in order to answer questions and explain certain novelties in their programs. They may be asked, too, whether a revision is possible, if the committee finds minor faults it would like corrected.

In order to help the committee to make a practical appraisal of the texts being considered, experimental classes are frequently set up. These may be requested by the curriculum branch, in which case the texts are paid for (usually at a special price), or suggested by the publisher, in which case the books are given free. The teachers who use the textbooks on trial report to the committee, sometimes in free form and sometimes on an appraisal sheet. The publisher has access to these classes and usually he or his sales representative makes a point of visiting them, often in the company of curriculum officials.

If a committee cannot find satisfactory existing texts, it may ask publishers if they are willing to publish a special text for the one province alone. The record shows that in most such instances one or more publishers have agreed to do so. In such cases the committee works very closely with the publisher, checking author material, offering suggestions, and so on, so that the resulting book is assured of full approval. If the initial market is large enough and if there are substantial yearly repeats, the publisher may discharge his development costs and eventually make a profit. However, as the life of formal texts grows shorter and as choices multiply and as the power to select books moves from the Department to the teacher, the risks grow very long.

At the committee level, price, if attended to at all, is very much a secondary matter. However, since a number of the provinces still provide free texts in the elementary school and offer either a generous discount or a minimum rental rate at the high school level, price may ultimately become a factor. (This is more likely to be so when the committee names several texts as equal in usefulness.) The director of the textbook bureau carries on the negotiations with the publisher, who, in most cases when assured of a worthwhile market, comes within any limits that may be set. In this connection, British Columbia requires two prices, one for Toronto manufacture and one for Vancouver manufacture. Since the latter is required by statute, unless special circumstances direct otherwise, most British Columbia texts are manufactured locally.

Curriculum committees are not generally bound to a tight schedule. In some cases it is difficult to bring members together more than twice a year and limited funds may cut this to once. Moreover, disagreement over the topics to be included and over the amount of emphasis to be given certain topics can hinder progress. Even after the committee has reported, the Department may find that because of

cost or some other reason, it must delay the implementation of the committee's recommendations. However, ultimately the recommendations are authorized or prescribed by Order-in-Council and appear in the textbook list which is used by the schools when making their purchases.

To what extent has "Canadian content" been a factor in the selection of textbooks in provinces other than Ontario? The attitude of the curriculum branches may be summed up as follows: "We will decide on goals and objectives and course content. All publishers are welcome to submit appropriate materials and we will select what best suits our needs." The result is that lists are a mixture of American texts completely unchanged, American texts revised so as to replace American references (largely historical and geographical) with Canadian references, and *bona fide* Canadian texts written by Canadians out of Canadian teaching experience and published in Canada. There has been some tendency detectable to favour *bona fide* Canadian texts, but this has not been consistent and has depended largely upon who was head of the particular curriculum branch at a particular time. I have been told repeatedly, "We will choose the *best* text (i.e., best suited to our needs) no matter where it comes from." It seems fair to conclude, in short, that "Canadian content" has not been a prime, although it may have been one concern, in text book selection in provinces other than Ontario.

#### PROVINCIAL TEXTBOOK LISTS

Every province issues lists of texts which are authorized or recommended for use in its schools, lists which grow longer as new subjects are added and as the trend away from one basic text takes hold. Coincident with this movement, three of the provinces – Alberta, Manitoba, and Newfoundland – have passed legislation enabling school boards to prescribe their own texts and instructional materials. The Alberta ministerial order will serve to document this.

Pursuant to section 13 of The School Act, 1970 I hereby delegate my power under section 12 (2)

(a) (11) to school boards to the extent that they may

(1) prescribe textbooks in addition to or other than those prescribed by myself, such prescription to be by resolution of the board with a copy to be forwarded to the Department of Education, and

(2) with respect to instructional materials other than textbooks, prescribe any such materials provided that a teacher who uses materials other than those prescribed by myself or the board is responsible to the board for the use of those materials.

Obviously teachers have a broad choice. They may choose from the provincial list – frequently grown to five or more reading series, three or more mathematics series, etc. – or they may, in the provinces noted above, seek, through their school board, permission to use books of their own choosing. In Manitoba and Newfoundland the province discharges the cost of school board purchases in the same manner as if the texts had come from the provincial list; in Alberta the school board pays this special expense from its own funds.

In view of this dichotomy, the publisher's concern with committees and with a provincial listing would seem to be unwarranted. It must be remembered, however, that the changes noted above are very new and that the provincial lists have the weight of tradition behind them. Moreover, it is convenient to buy from the provincial list since its texts are stocked by the local textbook bureau and need not be ordered directly from the publisher. Lastly, but certainly of cardinal importance, the books from the provincial list are generously subsidized.

But genuine concerns do arise from the changing nature of textbook lists and from the new options being given to the schools. The only remaining provinces that rely on an authorized text in the traditional sense of one copy per pupil are Prince Edward Island, British Columbia (in some subjects), and Nova Scotia, although as Dr. A. B. Morrison, Director of Youth Education for the latter province, points out, "we are moving toward a greater selection of materials rather than to one prescribed textbook." The reasons for this trend are emphasized regularly to the teachers in curriculum bulletins and in teacher magazines. A statement in the 1971 *Alberta Handbook for Elementary Mathematics* is typical, and of special interest since mathematics might well have been thought to be an exception to the trend. That statement follows:

#### *Use of Textbooks*

In the teaching of elementary mathematics, the textbook in the classroom has, too often, been accepted as the program of studies and, as such, is too extensive for most students. This has resulted in many problems when teachers attempt to meet the range of individual abilities. One must consider both the strengths and limitations of the textbook and exercise discretion in its use.

##### *1. Strengths*

It will be accepted that the textbook does:

- (a) provide an organizational structure of scope and sequence;
- (b) provide a variety of exercises for both practice and testing purposes;
- (c) provide remedial and enrichment material;
- (d) place emphasis on the structure of mathematics, and on the development of concepts and understanding;
- (e) provide for skill development and patterns of operations.

##### *2. Limitations*

The textbook should not be accepted as the program of studies. Teachers should examine the role and function of the textbook and recognize the following possible limitations:

- (a) It does not always relate mathematics to the child's experiences, and therefore many problem situations are artificial. The concept of relevancy is important.
- (b) Texts quite often do not encourage discovery, nor creative or divergent thinking; that is, use of the inductive process.
- (c) The text has a rigid placement of topics, using a standard approach, and this allows insufficient provision for individual differences and abilities.
- (d) It does not always provide alternative approaches and solutions which could be used in re-introducing topics, reteaching and rekindling the pupil's interest. The adherence to the text often



results in stereotyped teaching, and hampering of the innovative methods and creative abilities of teachers.

### 3. *Implications*

No text, manual, or single aid will provide a creative and appealing approach to instruction. Children differ and communities are varied, so that the creative ability and background of children demand variation in instructional patterns.

- (a) Teachers should accept the freedom to search for other approaches to instruction, for a variety of methods of presentation, and for other sources for the upgrading of the mathematics program.
- (b) Multiple authorizations do provide the element of choice to use alternate methods and approaches to accommodate the ranges of performance and interest.
- (c) Supplementary materials are becoming more readily available using a workshop or discovery approach.
- (d) Teachers should be encouraged to utilize real or human situations, creating problems related to the current interest of pupils.
- (e) A more meaningful insight into the worth of mathematics may be achieved by its integration with all subject areas, both scientific and social.
- (f) The elementary mathematics teacher should not consider coverage or maximum development of concepts as the primary goal, but rather the initial building of a foundation for further mathematics and specifically the arousing of an interest in and more meaningful appreciation of mathematics. The dignity and worth of the child should always be considered paramount.

### THE TEXTBOOK BUREAU

Reference has been made to the textbook bureau as one of the factors tending to restrain change. Each province with the exception of Ontario and Quebec has since its earliest years purchased its texts through a central office which may also be called the School Book Branch or now, in British Columbia, Provincial Curriculum Resources Division. The purpose of the bureau, which operates as an adjunct to the Department of Education, is to bring forward the texts from the authorized list in bulk shipment and then to package and distribute them directly or indirectly, to the different schools. This became, through experience and because of the personal excellence of the bureau directors, a very efficient and economical operation. So long as courses of study were fixed and so long as there was one text per subject, it was easy for the director to calculate his needs. Moreover, he could do this well in advance of school opening and could bring his books forward in carload lots and at a time when shipping rates – by rail, boat, or transport – were at their best.

The system had advantages to the publisher, too, some of which are obvious. Since orders were received not later than the turn of the year, he could do his printing at a time when plants were often short of work. He could print in quantity because his text was the only one in use. And he could warehouse inexpensively and often in temporary fashion, because he knew that the books would move out early in the spring.

Because of the size of the printings, because he could ship in bulk, and because of the dependable nature of the relationship with the book bureaus, the publisher was

able to offer discounts above the ordinary. This economy, coupled with low freight rates and sound business practices, worked well with the government's policy of providing free texts. (One suspects that there was mutual advantage here since book bureau orders must often have served publishers as excellent collateral at the bank.)

It is difficult to see how the book bureaus can continue to be as useful when teachers are able to choose from long lists of titles and, if they wish, to buy small quantities of each of several titles. (In Manitoba it is suggested that teachers not buy more than fifteen copies of any one primary reader.) The bureaus will have difficulty in knowing which titles to stock and in what quantity. Obviously, more warehouse space will be needed; orders to each publisher will be smaller; orders will be more frequent; and orders will be delayed until teachers have made their decisions and school boards have approved their selections.

If school boards take up the option now opening to them and encourage the use of texts not on the departmental lists, then the difficulties of the book bureaus are further multiplied. Already there has been talk of phasing out this service, and already new practices are being tried within it. When Saskatchewan introduced a new Language Arts program, its bureau, faced with the questions of how many schools would change to the new program and what books would be selected, invited publishers to send small numbers of their texts on consignment. This consignment stock is paid for according to monthly sales, and the publisher takes back whatever remains at the end of the selling season.

#### THE OLD VS THE NEW

The contrast between the old situation and the new, and the implications for the publisher, are made clear by the two accompanying graphs.

Chart A represents a school reader which has material in it that is ageless, which is sold in every province, and which in days past would have levelled off at about the 25,000 mark for at least a further five years. The two peaks represent provincial adoptions and are a significant reminder of the value to the publisher of the one-book-per-pupil pedagogy. The book is reaching a level where a two-year supply has to be printed each time, with consequent warehouse costs and the risk that before this supply is disposed of the sales will have dropped still further.

Chart B represents a third revision of a high school English text – a standard type of text that deals with the fundamentals of the language and which goes through periodic revision mainly to update the examples. This text is used in Ontario but its main sales have been in the Western and Atlantic provinces. Like the reader, its sales are declining because of the alternative texts being listed as authorized and because of new methods, i.e., the linguistic method, in language teaching.

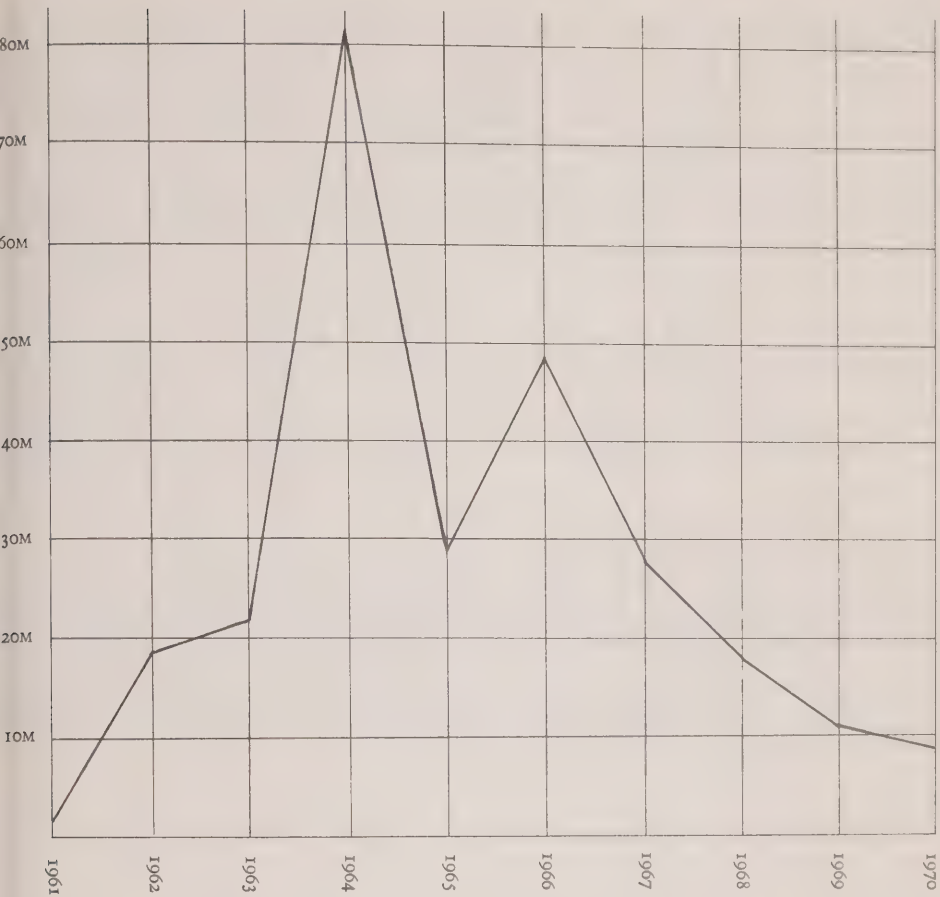


CHART A: Sales of an elementary school reader to show the old pattern and the new. It is unlikely that individual titles will ever peak again as this one did in 1964 and 1966.



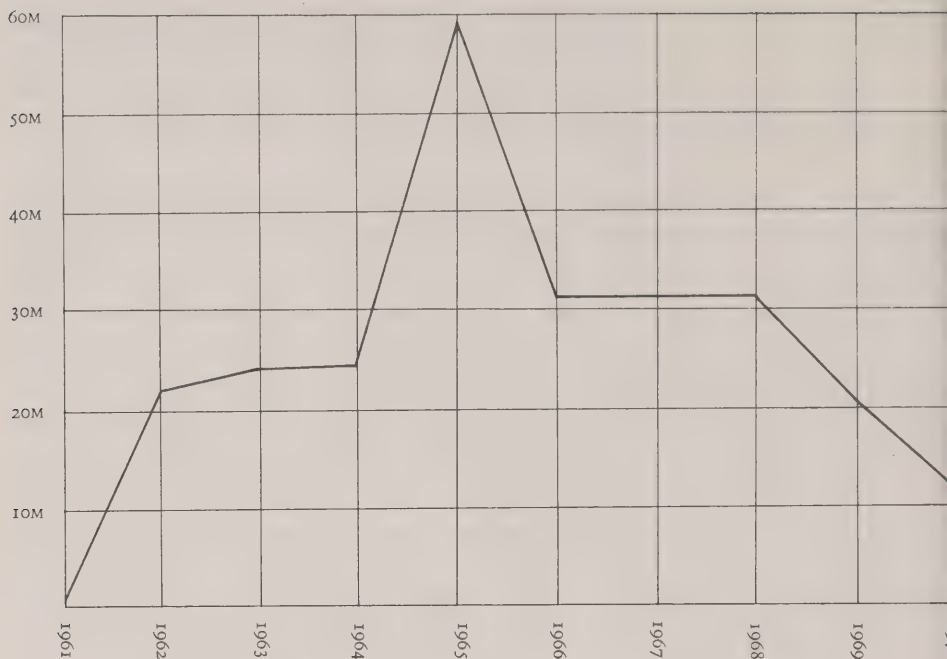


CHART B: Sales of a high school English text. Despite the standard nature of this work, new pedagogy is causing a steady decline in sales.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. In all the provinces the place of the traditional text is under review. Most provinces are no longer prescribing one text per subject but are allowing teachers to make a choice from a list of several texts.
2. The texts prescribed are chosen by committees composed of teachers, supervisors, members of faculties of education, etc.
3. In several provinces the school boards have as much power over the selection of texts as does the Minister of Education.
4. In most provinces texts in the traditional sense are now considered of no more importance than reference books and educational aids such as films, projectuals and tapes. Where there are grants-in-aid, these apply equally to all educational materials.
5. The textbook bureaus are finding it difficult to serve the schools as they once did in view of the great variety and smaller quantities of texts now required.
6. The publisher has lost the advantage of bulk orders from textbook bureaus and faces an increased number of individual orders from schools and school districts.

7. The transfer of authority from the Department to the school and the increased number of choices mean that the publisher must have consultants to explain his programs to the teachers and increased sales staff to call on them.
8. The changes described in this paper are not likely to be halted. Magazines, newspapers, and educators press hard to have educational methods and materials updated. The key words are "innovative" and "relevant." A statement from the 119th annual report for the Province of New Brunswick seems a prescient summation:

What we could accomplish in a decade a few years ago, we will now have to aim to accomplish in a few months if not in a few weeks. The growing generation will not have the patience of the previous generations.

The breaking-up of a traditional style of operation will be total; it will no longer be possible to depend on obsolete structures.

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# *Interprovincial Co-operation on Curriculum*

CHARLES E. PHILLIPS AND FREEMAN K. STEWART

Little co-operation between provinces on any aspect of public education was possible until a regular channel of communication was set up by the provincial authorities. This was accomplished in 1892 by the establishment of what is now called the Canadian Education Association, an organization which during its history has had several other names which may for simplicity be ignored. At intervals, for some forty-five years, the CEA did little except set the stage for interprovincial co-operation. Then in the late 1930s it began to acquire purpose and vitality. In 1943 it published a *Report of the Survey Committee* on the chief educational needs of Canada and gained the attention of educators across the country. A burst of new activity became possible with the appointment of an executive secretary – part-time in 1943 and full-time in 1945. Since then the CEA has engaged continually in an increasing number of undertakings designed to foster communication and co-operation among provincial and local authorities and generally to help improve education across Canada.

## EARLY INTEREST IN NATIONAL TEXTBOOKS

The interest of the CEA in “national” textbooks – that is, in the prescription of one or more identical textbooks in more than one province – dates back to its first convention in 1892, described in *Interprovincial Co-operation in Education* by F. K. Stewart (Toronto: W. J. Gage Ltd., 1957):

Mr. J. H. Burland of Montreal had offered a considerable sum of money as a loan for the preparation of a history on condition that such history should be authorized in at least five of the seven provinces of the Dominion. This, it was felt, would unify the provinces and foster a spirit of patriotism. These highly desirable aims appealed to educationists, supported by the undoubted fact that a uniform text would be much cheaper for pupils because of its production in greater quantities.



Apparently a contest was held, fifteen manuscripts were submitted, and the winning history was published in 1897 after being adopted by several provinces. But it was dropped after a few years.

This limited success must be regarded as modest indeed, because educational concepts and practice at the time were in harmony with the venture. The rule was to authorize only one textbook in a subject, "curriculum" was synonymous with a structured course of study, and standards were measured by mastery of fairly stable content.

At the 1918 convention, Dr. A. H. MacKay of Nova Scotia gave an address on "Uniform Textbooks for Canadian Schools." He said that his province had adopted textbooks authorized in Ontario – nearly all of those used in elementary schools and most of those used in secondary schools – because they were cheaper. He expected criticism and suggested that Nova Scotians should have some share in textbook production, perhaps in the process of editing. A delegate from western Canada said that the four western provinces were working towards agreement on the choice of textbooks; he saw no reason why the principle of a uniform series of textbooks for the whole of Canada could not be accepted. Others spoke along the same line. The Chief Inspector of Public and Separate Schools in Ontario said that the Minister of Education for that province had already spoken strongly in favour of the nationalization of textbooks. He added that he himself regarded provincialism as a menace to be avoided. The discussion showed that it was not economically feasible for publishers to produce textbooks to meet the particular and distinctive wishes of smaller provinces. There was remarkably little opposition to uniform textbooks throughout Canada; but it was easier to let other provinces use Ontario books as long as they would.

#### POLITICAL OBSTRUCTIONS TO CO-OPERATION

In spite of Confederation there was a strong attachment to tradition in the Maritime provinces, and people there spoke of Upper Canada, or just "Canada," as if it were a separate and rather unfriendly state. The western provinces, as they grew in population during the present century, became detached from central Canada in outlook and educational philosophy, too, as a result of their closer contact with adjacent American states.

Other political factors also occasionally hampered interprovincial co-operation in education. The CEA, with support from other educational associations, spent months of 1946 in trying to obtain war surplus materials, such as typewriters, for the schools. It might have had greater success if all nine provincial governments had been equally ready to back up its requests, which were not altogether palatable to the government of the time in Ottawa. At the time Quebec was a problem, and there was often uncertainty about the payment of that province's annual contribu-

tion to the CEA. This embarrassed the Deputy Minister of Education of Quebec, B. O. Filteau, who was for years a director and in 1946-7 president of the CEA, and who made it his objective to strengthen interprovincial understanding through education. He wrote:

For many years, I felt somewhat dubious as to the result of my humble work towards this objective. For almost twenty years, I stood alone as representative of French Quebec and in spite of the unfailing sympathy and courtesy of my English-speaking colleagues from all over Canada, I could not defend myself from a feeling of uneasiness and loneliness.

Safeguarding of provincial rights could extend to jealous protection of provincial idiosyncrasies. A recurring item of business for the Canadian Education Association was the plea of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics for comparable statistical data on education from the provincial departments. In spite of the obvious value of statistical uniformity, the problem persisted, as did the minor nuisance of variations in terminology. In 1961-2 DBS held federal-provincial conferences and a standing committee on comparable statistics was approved. But in July 1969, the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada was still seeking a common basis for educational statistics and agreed that an Education Information Committee could accept the responsibility with DBS of working towards a solution.

In spite of difficulties, however, there has been since the second world war a marked growth of knowledge and understanding. The CEA has published a quarterly, now called *Education Canada*, and a more frequent newsletter, and has conducted studies and courses in which educators from all provinces take part. The Canadian Teachers' Federation is now a well financed and powerful body which does similar work with teachers. There are also Canadian educational organizations of parents, trustees, and other groups. Symptomatic also of a national viewpoint were the two Canadian Conferences on Education held in 1958 and 1962. Co-operation among provinces on educational matters, including curriculum, has become more acceptable.

#### MORE RECENT DEMANDS FOR UNIFORMITY

"A Standard Curriculum in all Ten Provinces" was the title of a paper to prepare listeners for one of the Citizens' Forum radio broadcasts in 1951. This was still for many people a live issue. Officers of military establishments no doubt in particular thought a standard curriculum would be convenient; their inquiries prompted "A Comparison of Courses of Studies," with content tabulated in detail, by H. G. Birkenshaw in 1955. A paper for the Second Canadian Conference on Education dealt with a "National Core Curriculum" in a less prescriptive way and visualized a voluntarily representative body to study and develop models. An article in the *Manitoba Teacher* for March-April 1963, favoured a move towards a "truly Canadian" system of education.

More stringent views were expressed by a Committee on Common Entrance Requirements (*Proceedings: The National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges, 1962*): "The problem of varying secondary school and matriculation requirements for their universities has plagued Canadians for many years." The committee quoted the Honourable Senator Donald Cameron, chairman of Alberta's Royal Commission on Education, who had asked: "How can we have a national identity and a sense of Canadian unity and purpose when we have not one but ten systems of Canadian education?" That same year, 1962, the legislature of Manitoba approved in principle the formation of a body of commissioners for the promotion of uniformity of school curricula and textbooks in Canada. The Committee on Common Entrance Requirements agreed that a "national common high school matriculation curriculum" was a worthy long-term goal, but for the immediate future it recommended that the CEA be asked only to provide data that might lead to greater similarity of curricula and standards.

Actually no organized study was made to give a basis for interprovincial co-operation on curricula generally or towards comprehensive adoption of textbooks and standards. Because of their obvious bearing on patriotism, discussions of common curricula usually focused on Canadian history textbooks. What follows immediately is an account of one noteworthy example.

#### THE COMMITTEE FOR THE STUDY OF CANADIAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

Unlike many attempts to promote Canadian unity today, this CEA committee received initial impetus and continuing drive from French-speaking Quebec. Charles Bilodeau of the Department of Education in that province had already made a pilot study of Canadian history textbooks. M. l'abbé Arthur Maheux of Laval University, who became chairman of the committee, was dedicated to the cause of Canadian unity. Suave, gracious, charming, habitually smoking one of the long, slender, imported cigarettes which seemed to reflect his build and manner, he spoke entertainingly in either language: "I told those boys of mine that they would never receive absolution from me if an English-speaking Canadian went to hell because they could not understand his request for a priest."

The 1943 CEA convention called for a committee "to study the question of textbooks for Canadian history in order to bring about a better understanding between the two main groups of the Canadian nation." There were good reasons for doing so. The English-language textbooks tended to skip rather lightly over the French regime and the subsequent history of French-speaking Canadians. The French-language textbooks tended to be niggardly of space for such topics as the Hudson's Bay Company, the economic development of Canada, and the history of provinces other than Quebec.

The members of the committee, apart from the two men already mentioned and



the secretary of the CEA, were two professors of history (A. R. M. Lower and R. M. Saunders), one professor of educational methods in history (E. L. Daniher), and the secretary of an historical society (Jean-Jacques Lefebvre). In contrast with what goes on today, the work of the committee was small-scale and unobtrusive. The full committee met in 1944 only twice, for two days each time. But much intensive homework was done by individual members, chiefly the chairman, the secretary, and M. Bilodeau. The report of the committee was published in *Canadian Education*, October 1945.

The chairman's heart had been set on having one good history textbook adopted in all provinces of Canada. The secretary felt that he was cast in a destructive role when he argued that such a recommendation could not be implemented – if only because the study of history in the social studies program of Alberta was quite different from the study of history in some other provinces, including Quebec. In the end, the five recommendations of the committee regarding textbooks were largely requests to authors: that they should, for example, “emphasize the things which all Canadians have in common, and the steps which have led to the building of the Canadian nation,” and “put more emphasis than has hitherto been placed on social and cultural growth.” The committee did recommend, however, that “the basic factual content in Canadian history textbooks should be the same in all provinces.” Although they did not spell out precisely how this could be achieved, they did recommend that the CEA set up a committee to examine manuscripts and make recommendations on request. This was not done.

In a discussion of the distribution and use of Canadian history textbooks, the committee urged as a corrective against possible provincialism that “in addition to its own authorized book, the Department of Education in each province should give special recommendation to the textbooks authorized in the other provinces, arranging for translation where necessary.” In 1946, the Quebec Catholic Department of Education referred to this recommendation in announcing that an abridged version of a widely used French-language textbook in Canadian history was being translated for publication in English. One cannot say whether other provinces did anything to implement the recommendation. Teachers without the more plentiful supply of books and resources they have today would have welcomed sets of supplementary books authorized elsewhere.

The report of the committee contained other material, including a recommended program in history for Canadian schools and an expansion of the program for most grades. Attached to the report are critical comments from outside readers who were asked to examine it. In July, August, and September 1946, *Canadian Education* published a survey of what each province was doing along lines recommended by the committee. From the viewpoint of the 1970s, this attempt at interprovincial co-operation regarding one subject was successful in putting out a helpful report – concise, clear, and definite. But it was not circulated widely enough to reach many

teachers. Even if it had been, one may doubt that teachers are any more ready than other people to take advice.

#### FACILITATING TRANSFER OF PUPILS

A more practical reason for working toward uniformity in curriculum and standards across Canada was the problem of placing pupils in new schools after they had moved with their parents from one province to another. The matter came up for discussion at the first convention of the CEA in 1892, and was a recurrent item on its directors' agendas. In response to a request from the armed services in 1952, the previously mentioned comparative study of secondary school course content in all provinces was completed in 1955. As a result, armed service personnel who were about to move were better informed about the problems their children would face. Employees of railways, banks, and other large corporations had the same problems. The Canadian School Trustees' Association in 1960 insisted that the situation was serious and that something should be done. But the ever-cautious directors of the CEA asked for an investigation to find out how much time was actually lost by pupils moving from one province to another.

A study in Alberta in 1963 showed that about eight per cent of the total population in the province moved sufficiently far in a year that their children had to attend new schools, but that only a quarter of them came from another province. A later survey, reported by the CEA in 1966, showed that pupils from other provinces comprised only one per cent of the enrolment of the schools to which they transferred. (A common estimate was that not more than two per cent of the total school population in Canada were interprovincial transfers.) Moreover, about three-quarters of the transfers were completed in the summer, and placement in September is relatively easy. Seventy-two per cent of the pupils transferred were neither downgraded or upgraded. The problem was, in short, not extensive. Nevertheless, a new form of transfer letter was devised in 1963, although something of the kind had been available for some six years previously.

There appeared to be no great problem in placing in another province pupils in the first six grades or in some subjects of the higher grades. These and other aspects of transfer were studied over the years. The curriculum directors of the five western provinces (Ontario included) discussed as late as 1970 a system of equivalents, or equivalent school programs, that would equate one province with another without the rigidity of uniform secondary school courses of study. In any case, an approach directly through the course structure promised only partial success. T. C. Byrne, then Chief Superintendent of Schools in Alberta, wrote in an article in the *Alberta School Trustee*, March 1965, that a program of studies is *not* the major factor in determining what goes on in school – that is, in determining the curriculum. Complete uniformity is therefore impossible, even with identical courses and text-

books. The implications of this point of view for interprovincial co-operation in curriculum and for educational publishing will be discussed later.

#### INNOVATIONS CALLING FOR CO-OPERATION

##### *Broadcasting to Schools*

Co-operation among provinces on curriculum matters has been more in evidence when innovations or new emphases have appeared. The most striking example is the application of radio broadcasting. The first provinces to establish broadcasts to schools on a permanent basis, with the collaboration of the CBC, were Nova Scotia and British Columbia. In 1942 the CBC, with the co-operation of the nine provincial departments of education, presented the first series of national school broadcasts, with the aim of strengthening the sense of Canadian citizenship in young Canadians at school.

The above developments led, by agreement between the CBC and the CEA, to the formation of a National Advisory Council on School Broadcasting, which met for the first time in March 1944. It consisted of representatives of the nine departments of education and of the National Conference of Canadian Universities, the Canadian Teachers' Federation, the Canadian Federation of Home and School, and the Canadian School Trustees' Association. Its chief function was to advise the CBC on the planning of programs on the national network intended for schools. Concurrently all provinces except Quebec entered into working arrangements with the CBC for provincial broadcasts to schools.

In July 1946, the CEA presented a brief to the Special Committee of the House of Commons on Radio Broadcasting. It said that broadcasting to the schools was assuming considerable proportions and had great potential importance, and that co-operation between the CBC and provincial departments of education had proved satisfactory. The eleven recommendations called, in effect, for expansion. In one of them was the accurate prediction: "The modern tendency in education is towards a widening of its scope considerably beyond formal instruction." This tendency has, of course, made co-operation in curriculum less simple and clear-cut.

In May 1961, the National Advisory Council on School Broadcasting convened a National Educational Television Conference, and so recognized the new medium for broadcasts to schools. In 1962 a representative of the CBC discussed reorganization of the Council with the directors of the CEA. Subsequently an *ad hoc* committee was appointed to study the constitution of the Council. The story will be picked up again later in this paper. But it can be said here that for over fifteen years there was more regular co-operation among the provinces, along with a federal agency, than has occurred for a long period in any other curricular medium or field.



### *Health and practical education*

After twentieth century wars, governments have shown a somewhat ironic concern about health. In Canada after the second world war there was intensified interest in health and physical education. The objective of such education is not easily measured knowledge or skills, but improvement of the pupil's health. There is accordingly some uncertainty about the efficacy of methods, content, and other school factors which affect the pupil's physical well-being. In 1945, the CEA, having obtained a pledge of financial support from the Canadian Life Insurance Officers Association, joined with the Canadian Public Health Association and initiated a program of school health research. The sponsoring organizations set up a national committee of four medical doctors and three educators, plus the secretary of the CEA and the director of the study, both educators also. All nine provinces appointed provincial committees, averaging about seven members each.

For five years the director of the study went from province to province, gathering data and conferring with teachers, inspectors, and administrators. By his first report in March 1947, some eighty per cent of the schools in Canada had participated to some extent in the study. There were seven reports in all, and the study ended in 1950. It is not possible to summarize briefly the findings and recommendations. What is significant was the extremely widespread co-operation in one area of the curriculum, although not the close and continual working together that is possible within one school or locality.

A similar program of research was conducted under CEA auspices by a Canadian Research Committee on Practical Education between 1947 and 1951. This also was a field receiving much increased emphasis. The program had the same structure of national and provincial committees and a director. Its major objective was to investigate the secondary school curriculum as it affected those who left the schools at various grades to enter employment. The investigation required the co-operation of people in all provinces. The most important of its reports dealt with reasons for dropping out of school, which were sometimes attributable to the curriculum.

Unfortunately from the publisher's point of view, practical education requires few books, and in health education books are perhaps less suitable than films and related discussion. Indeed, although health educators might disagree indignantly, it may be doubted whether some of the content in their field is sufficiently precise and reliable for expression in print. During the CEA program of school health research, the educators on the national committee tried to establish definite criteria of good health habits. They suggested washing hands before meals, but the doctors on the committee said that the habit was good aesthetically but not necessary to health. The educators suggested the drinking of a quart, or a pint, or a half pint of milk a day, but the doctors said that any such designated amount would be too

little for some youngsters and too much for others. If one can't devise a test of good health habits, a modern movie is surely more appropriate an instructional medium than a book for leaving everyone in a correct state of uncertainty.

#### DIFFERENCES IN EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT AND PRACTICE

One factor which may limit effective interprovincial co-operation in curriculum is the diversity in prevailing views of what constitutes good educational practice. Of course no province has a completely consistent philosophy of education. But, admittedly with over-simplification, it is possible to classify some provinces as more traditional, in tending to adhere to structured courses of study, and others as more progressive, in tending to favour a wide choice of learning experiences, individual progress, individual timetables where possible, and flexible achievement standards adapted in some measure to the individual's potential. The philosophy of education may differ, of course, from decade to decade as well as from province to province.

Concise appraisals of recent reports on education issued by royal commissions and other committees will give some indication of the variations in some provinces, even though such reports may not always reflect the views on education of a majority within a province.

The report of the Royal Commission on Education in Alberta in 1951 leaned towards traditional views in a province which twenty years before had been the most modern or progressive. The report of the Royal Commission on Education in British Columbia in 1960 was strongly traditional, or even reactionary, in a province which had been close to Alberta in its educational philosophy decades before; but professional educators seemed to acquiesce only to the extent they had to, and *Involvement*, a report published in 1968 by the British Columbia Teachers' Federation, was just about as progressive as they come. The report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Education in the Province of Quebec, 1963-6, veered noticeably towards the modern and progressive in a province that had been strongly traditional. *Living and Learning*, the report of the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario, 1968, reflected the modern or progressive point of view shared not only by a large majority of representative citizens on the committee but by leadership in a department of education which in the 1940s had stood for a little red schoolhouse type of traditionalism. In co-operation, therefore, the apostles of change do not necessarily come always from the east, the centre, or the west.

More intensive co-operation on curriculum can be easier among groups of provinces than among all at once. Panelists in a discussion at the CEA in 1963 thought so. One agreed that the Atlantic provinces tend to subscribe to the same aims and a common philosophy. A westerner saw the possibility of agreement on common programs and texts in several provinces. Now curriculum directors of the Atlantic provinces in one group, and of the western provinces plus Ontario in another,

meet at least twice a year. They not only exchange information, but try to find solutions to common problems.

#### CO-OPERATION OF TEACHERS

Provincial teachers' federations co-operate through the Canadian Teachers' Federation, but not with reference to the curriculum generally. There are, however, a number of national associations of teachers in subject-matter areas, including English, mathematics, science, and social studies, and also in fields like counselling and screen education. Many of those are assisted by the CTF. In their annual meetings, and to some extent during the year, these associations co-operate interprovincially regarding curriculum.

*The English Quarterly*, for example, published by the Canadian Council of Teachers of English, is, in its own words, "designed to acquaint teachers of English at all levels of education with developments in the teaching of English across Canada and in other parts of the world." Although doing this is not the same thing as providing for co-operation, it does subject teachers to the influence of the same ideas.

Provincial differences in educational practice may be a barrier to exchange of ideas on curriculum by teachers from different parts of Canada. In some provinces, including Ontario, teachers at school are largely responsible for deciding what is to be learned from day to day. The secretary of the Ontario Teachers' Federation says that for this reason it is often difficult for Ontario teachers to communicate about curricula with teachers from the Maritime provinces, who appear to be more accustomed to prescribed and structured courses of study. On the other hand, Ontario teachers exchange views readily with teachers in the Corporation des Enseignants du Québec, and regard their counterparts in Quebec as having greater influence on their Department of Education in various areas, including curriculum.

Curiously, teachers have not seemed very interested in getting to know at first hand what goes on in the schools of other provinces. An interprovincial teacher exchange program initiated by the CEA twenty-five years ago attracted almost seventy pairs of teachers at the start, but fewer and fewer through the years until there were only two pairs in 1970. A program to have bilingual teachers in Quebec exchange places for a year with teachers in other provinces was initiated in 1967 but began to die out for want of applicants and was abandoned after four years. This occurred in spite of generous government financing which permitted liberal expense allowances to participants. Although there were other reasons for the decline, one suspects that most Canadians take their own country for granted and see no special reason for travelling in it or buying Canadian books.

#### DIRECT CO-OPERATION IN CURRICULUM

Direct and continuing co-operation has developed at meetings of the personnel responsible for curriculum in the various provincial departments of education. For



many years such meetings occurred at the time of CEA conventions, either as part of the program or supplementary to it. Topics discussed may be illustrated by those chosen for a panel at the 1960 convention: similarities and differences of curricula among the provinces, and the advantages and disadvantages of variations in curriculum.

At the 1964 convention there was a more formal meeting of provincial directors of curriculum, who had been asked by the directors of the CEA to consider problems related to the interprovincial transfer of pupils. At this meeting the new mathematics was seen as a field in which interprovincial co-operation would be useful. Five years later the directors of curriculum began meeting under the auspices of a new body which is next to be discussed.

#### THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF EDUCATION

Provincial ministers of education were for years honorary presidents of the Canadian Education Association. In 1945-6, they were encouraged to take a more active interest by attending its annual conventions and holding informal meetings. An increasing number, and sometimes all, attended, and regular meetings became established. By the late 1950s several of the ministers felt that they had a responsibility not only to co-operate more formally, but also to provide more active leadership in education on the national scene. Otherwise, they feared, the existing vacuum on the national level would be filled *ad hoc* by federal officials, or by a succession of pressure groups.

In consequence the ministers of education in 1960 organized themselves as a standing committee of the CEA, using the CEA office as a secretariat. In 1967, they formed a separate body under the name of the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada. Its stated purposes were comprehensive and vague: to facilitate consultation among ministers and co-operation among provincial governments on matters of common concern, and to work with other educational organizations to promote the development of education in Canada. In 1968, with the acquisition of a small secretariat, the Council of Ministers became much more active. With the intention of avoiding a central bureaucracy, the Council has done much of its work through interprovincial committees. These it finances liberally to cover the costs of meetings whenever necessary, a method which has had special appeal to the less central provinces.

In July 1969, the Council set up a curriculum committee to consist of senior curriculum officials (usually directors of curriculum) from each provincial department of education. Dr. A. B. Morrison, director of curriculum in Nova Scotia, was made co-ordinator, and the committee met for the first time in Halifax that September. The purposes of those who set up the committee were broad and open – to provide a means for exchange of information and ideas on curriculum, to study

common problems and, at least incidentally, to promote national understanding.

But other groups and individuals had different ideas about the function of the Council of Ministers and its committee. In July 1969, the Canadian School Trustees' Association sent the Council of Ministers a brief calling attention to the difficulties of transferring pupils to the school system of another province. This had been a perennial complaint, but the trustees argued that the problems now were aggravated by greater interprovincial mobility and the growing complexity of the educational systems. They called on the Council of Ministers to form a nationally representative committee to "set a table of equivalencies for courses at the secondary level to guide in the placement of students involved in interprovincial transfers." The Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation had also indicated, in November 1968, its concern that the ministers consider a "national core curriculum" and the establishment of a national office of education. In the House of Commons in October of that year the member from Fraser Valley West also asked for a national office and spoke of the need for more interprovincial agreement on educational standards.

The contrast in points of view is revealed by a later exchange of letters in 1971. L. R. Comeau, M.P., asked for a national conference on educational standards. The Honourable W. G. Davis (Prime Minister of Ontario, and shortly before that Minister of Education) replied in part:

There have been numerous studies made during the past few years on the problem of interprovincial student mobility and Ontario has taken this question into careful consideration. In this connection, I am sure that you are aware of the existence of the Curriculum Committee of the Council of Ministers of Education. This committee is composed of the ten provincial directors of curriculum. Your interest is particularly timely since the question of student mobility has priority for consideration by the Committee in the near future.

At this time, however, I should perhaps explain to you that we in Ontario believe that those problems faced by students moving from one province to another may be attributed less to a lack of nationally recognized standards of education than to a general lack of flexibility within the respective education systems. For us, the solution does not lie in rigidly uniform curricula, but rather in diverse opportunities and flexibility within the educational system itself.

The director of curriculum in Ontario believes that the demand for uniformity in courses of study, textbooks, and standards across Canada has now subsided, perhaps because of a half-conscious popular realization that efforts are being made in flexible educational systems to put the pupil in the best possible program. This can be done more readily because of the movement in secondary education towards a credit system based on individual progress. In Ontario, in the spring of 1971, more than half the secondary schools were using credits, and about eighty per cent were expected to do so in the autumn. Other provinces, Manitoba especially, are moving in the same direction. Even without the credit system, greater choice is open to the individual student in most provinces, and requirements for entrance to university are becoming more flexible. Under these circumstances, co-operation in

curriculum development is of necessity much less definite, but it is none the less real.

The curriculum committee now meets from two to four times a year. Members include directors of curriculum, or the equivalent, from English-speaking provinces and Roger Haerberle, who represents both systems of the province of Quebec. In discussions a primary centre of interest has been Canadian studies, a term which has expanded in scope to include the whole curriculum. The original emphasis led to the appointment of a curriculum adviser, N. B. Massey, to "explore curriculum developments of a truly Canadian nature" and to "determine areas in which additional Canadian materials are needed." In 1970-1, Mr. Massey went to all provinces of Canada to interview pupils, teachers, principals, other administrators, and experts in curriculum. From ten- or twelve-year-old pupils, for example, he tried to find out what Canadian experience they had already had, sometimes by asking how far they had travelled in Canada. Teachers might be asked for views on what contributes to a good concept of Canada. From the answers of all groups he tried to arrive at a consensus. In an interim report to the curriculum committee he hoped to show what ideas of Canada and what feeling about their country children have, and to what degree the ideas and feeling are supported by their experience in school.

The potentialities of the work of the curriculum committee and its adviser were set forth more fully and imaginatively in *School Progress*, November 1970. The coordinator of the curriculum committee, Dr. A. B. Morrison, in addressing the CEA convention in Edmonton in September 1970, also summarized the work:

A year ago the Council of Ministers of Education expressed its concern by establishing a curriculum committee with a first priority of making recommendations regarding Canadian studies. The committee is developing a definition or clarification of what is Canadian studies, a set of criteria for the development and use of materials, assessment of the current situation and future needs, and eventually, we hope will provide a guide which may be used both by producers and consumers in developing local programs. These guidelines should be available to all interested groups during the coming year.

There is also an instructional media committee of the Council of Ministers of Education. Representatives of the provincial departments include those whose work is connected with media and others who have general administrative responsibilities. The committee meets three or four times a year to discuss the use of educational media in the light of the general policy adopted by the Council of Ministers. Although the term "media" is taken by some members to include books, the committee is concerned mostly with tapes, films, and broadcasting.

A related committee, the joint programming committee, does the work of planning radio and television broadcasting for the schools which was formerly carried out by the National Advisory Council on School Broadcasting, now disbanded. On the present committee, in addition to appointees of the Council of Ministers of Education, are representatives of the CBC and of the Canadian Teachers' Federation. Inclusion of the CTF members is indicative of the strong feeling of teachers that they should be represented in any curriculum planning.



The national school broadcasts of the 1940s called attention to the textbook or other book or books on which the program was based. Radio or television broadcasts to schools today do not ordinarily mention school texts unless the programs are on Canadian stories, but the program guides include a bibliography. There is evidence that school broadcasts stimulate reading by at least some pupils. Following some broadcasts, some librarians have been unable to meet all student requests for books, and the librarians have written to the CBC to urge that they be given advance notice of any references that will be stressed. Greater attention is now being paid in broadcasts to Canadian references, and mention of one or more books in a national program might well be expected to stimulate demand.

#### THE CANADA STUDIES FOUNDATION

Another current and major example of co-operative effort in the curriculum field is the Canada Studies Foundation. A few years ago an inspired teacher at Trinity College School, A. B. Hodgetts, sought ways to interest his pupils in Canada. He then tried to enlist the co-operation of teachers elsewhere. He had such success that he is now director of this new foundation, which in March 1971 had a budget of \$2,330,000 to complete projects already under way or approved.

One of the nine projects outlined in the 1971 annual report of the Canada Studies Foundation is the Laurentian Project, "designed to provide opportunities for educators from our two main linguistic communities to work together in the development of classroom materials based on a major theme of interest to both groups." The first theme selected was the impact of technology on Canadian society. In the first year some thirty educators and 725 secondary school students, one group in Peterborough and the other in Quebec, engaged in a variety of activities to arrive at development techniques, classroom materials, and teaching methods.

A second program, Project Canada West, is developing units of classroom work based on the theme of urbanization. Under a director in Edmonton, and with academic support from local universities, groups of teachers in many centres in the four western provinces are working on sub-projects related to particular aspects of urbanization. Local school boards are co-operating and share with the foundation the cost of released time for the teachers.

These brief accounts of two projects are incomplete and possibly over-simplified. In comparison with operations of some years ago, their magnitude and complexity are bewildering. Formerly, good teachers were happy to have a textbook as an anchor, a variety of books by scholars as a supplement, and other teaching materials devised by themselves. Neither way of doing things is necessarily better than the other; but co-operation related to curriculum and textbooks, which once was limited but potentially tangible, now seems far-flung and nebulous.

## CONCLUSION

Readers may be disappointed at the lack of clear-cut evidence that representatives of several provinces have ever drawn up a common program of studies or agreed on joint authorization of textbooks. Early in the present century, when educational practice was compatible with such a procedure, facilities for co-operation, and perhaps willingness to co-operate, were weaker than now. During the last twenty-five years, the environment for co-operation has improved, but the practice of drawing up and prescribing structured content, or of putting the stamp of approval on just one or two books, has pretty well gone out of fashion. We have tried to give a representative sample of all that has occurred in interprovincial co-operation in curriculum and have searched diligently to be sure that nothing of importance that is pertinent has been overlooked. If the evidence appears thin, one should not conclude that there has been little real co-operation. There has been more and more. But it now takes place within the more open, more flexible, less definite, less tangible frame of reference within which educators operate today. Time may be consumed by too much insistence on having a say and too little readiness to follow a charted course. Yet there is much co-operation regarding curriculum in schools and school systems and among representatives of provincial departments of education.

Occasional mention has been made of demands for a federal government office of education. Most purposes might be served as well or better by an interprovincial agency, and Quebec has always been adamant in its opposition to a federal office. There would, however, be a financial advantage for educational projects which were related to a major interest of the Canadian government. In 1970, Ottawa offered \$50 million, or \$300 million over the next four years to the provinces for second-language instruction, and for the education of French-speaking or English-speaking students in their own tongue in those provinces where they form the minority (for instance, for English-speaking students in Quebec, and for French-speaking students in other provinces.) Again in 1971, the federal government offered 2,500 bursaries for high school graduates to engage in a summer program for the promotion of bilingualism. If there were a federal office administering these and other programs, perhaps some of the money might be allocated to the purchase of Canadian books.

Other provinces can co-operate with Quebec only unilaterally or through an interprovincial rather than a federal agency. In aspects of education like curriculum, such co-operation has been all but impossible because of differences in outlook as well as language. There may be a change in the future, but it should be allowed to come about without pressure. We in English-speaking Canada should make it clear that we are glad to work with our fellow-citizens in Quebec when and if they care to do so. But why should we be persistent in annoying them with advances? They are at present, as always, courteous in accepting invitations, and it is a pleasure to associate with them. But that is not working together for a common purpose.

Speculation on the future of educational publishing must be based to some extent on present trends in the use of books in school. In secondary school subjects like mathematics and science it is usual for all pupils in a class to be given the same textbook, but reference or supplementary books are made available in increasing numbers. In history and geography or social studies, a teacher may get ten copies of each of three books and distribute them to a class of thirty. In these subjects, of course, a large number of collateral books are also regularly used. It is probable that as emphasis on research and the "discovery method" increases, the use of textbooks will decline and the demand for general and reference books will increase. This will mean less expenditure of school funds on textbooks and more on other books – and proportionately more, by present indications, on other instructional media. It would seem that publishers of school books will have a less predictable market.

A few words about the appearance and content of books for schools. As everyone knows, textbooks at the beginning of the century were logically structured and unexciting. Today, not only on television and in most other entertainment, but to some degree in school, what Herbart called primitive attention is obtained spasmodically by something which startles or gives an emotional shock. There appears to be less faith in the possibility of getting the continuing attention or interest which establishes logical connections with what preceded and which, in Herbart's words, "reaches out for more." One chief reason for this, as for much of the change in education in the present century, is that schooling beyond the rudiments is now not just for an elite but for everyone. We hear a great deal about innovations to accommodate the new majority from the seventh year of school upwards, but little about the minority who are consciously preparing to enter professional courses at university. They might reasonably prefer something similar to the instruction and books for the former elite – modernized, of course.

And what of the majority, who range from pupils of low academic ability in occupational classes to pupils who are exceptionally bright but not conventionally docile? In a metropolitan school system one group of the former type uses the daily newspaper in lieu of textbooks, and one group of the latter in their last year at high school devise and make arrangements for their own curriculum – including, for example, a meeting with a university professor. Between these extremes the majority include many in vocational classes, many from more affluent homes who will go to university for no vocational purpose, and a number who are just putting in time at school. The nature of the market created by this majority of pupils must baffle a publisher. If one looks not at the pupils, but at the very great number and variety of curriculum offerings, it would seem that the best thing to do is to produce a large number of books of general interest on many subjects and sell as many as possible to the schools.

Two other future possibilities are related to the fact that teachers are becoming better educated and more resourceful. It may be that they, and certainly many of



their pupils, would prefer that books not be designated or labelled as suitable for a certain grade or age; a sequence of books then would be considered as a developmental series. This suggestion is in harmony with the incipient decline of the graded school in favour of individual timetables, and the possibility of working simultaneously with an advanced content in one subject or area and with a more elementary content in another. The second suggestion, or prediction, is that the textbook of the future may be part of a package assembled and sold by the publisher – a multi-media package containing not only a textbook, but also supplementary materials such as films, tapes, and other visual aids.

A last question might be: “Is the analysis of trends in this paper in line with the policy and practice of provincial authorities?” If it be granted that policy in Ontario represents fairly well what is – or has been, or will be – that of other parts of English-speaking Canada, there is a pertinent letter from the Minister of Education for Ontario, the Honourable Robert Welch, which explains the views of his department regarding curriculum and the use of textbooks. The letter is dated 13 May 1971, and is a follow-up to the letter of the Prime Minister of Ontario quoted earlier. Here is an extract:

You are probably aware of the fact that not too long ago, the Ontario Department of Education, through the use of highly specific and detailed courses of study, through the provision of only a single authorized textbook for each level in each subject, through the deployment of a large group of provincial inspectors, and through the administration of provincially set and marked examinations at various levels, did in fact maintain a highly centralized and uniform pattern of education within the province.

As a matter of deliberate and long-term policy, we have over the last few years gradually dismantled this centralized and uniform structure. Our detailed courses of study are evolving into curriculum guidelines that outline not specific content and method, but the general philosophy and broad overall approach that we feel must be applied to the learning in the various subjects. Our list of authorized textbooks has enlarged to include many titles for each subject, from which teachers can select the most appropriate. Supervisory duties have been largely delegated to municipally employed officials, and we deploy in the field, instead of inspectors, a group of Program Consultants who work when requested with teachers, principals, and board officials in designing effective learning situations. We have eliminated, one by one, the Departmental examinations.

We have implemented these very far-reaching changes because of our conviction that the abilities and interests, and hence needs, of every individual student are unique. We cannot meet these individual needs by means of a uniform and centrally planned curriculum. Learning in the school must of course proceed within broad limits acceptable to the provincial community as a whole. These are set out in the curriculum guidelines I referred to earlier. But within these limits the teacher must be free to design the program that will be most effective for the particular children he has responsibility for. The needs of any particular group of children seldom if ever correspond to those of the ideal and hence unreal “average” child that province-wide or nation-wide curricula must be designed for.

This being the direction of our policy in Ontario you can understand that we cannot give support to moves designed to create uniform standards and the uniform curriculum this presupposes across the whole of Canada.

I stress, however, that we hold this position not through lack of a desire to co-operate or through a

jealous guarding of provincial rights in education, but from a conviction that the imposition of uniform standards across an area as vast and diverse as our country cannot serve the best interests of children.

CHARLES E. PHILLIPS was professor of education and director of graduate studies at the Ontario College of Education, University of Toronto, until his retirement in 1962. From 1945 to 1947 he was the first full-time executive secretary of the Canadian Education Association, and in 1949 was chairman of the National Committee for School Health Research. He was chairman of the Nova Scotia Commission on Teacher Education in 1950 and a member of the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario, 1965-8.

FREEMAN K. STEWART has been executive secretary of the Canadian Education Association since 1947. Before that he was a secondary school teacher and principal in Nova Scotia. He has given courses on the history of Canadian education and on comparative education at the College of Education, University of Toronto, and has written on education, including *Interprovincial Co-operation in Education*. He has also been active in the international field, under the auspices of Unesco and the Commonwealth, and from 1963 to 1966 was director of the Commonwealth Education Liaison Unit, London.

# *Australian Book Publishing*

G. A. FERGUSON

The first book published in Australia, a government document, was issued in 1802. For long after that time, the publication of books was a sporadic enterprise, hampered by a high illiteracy rate, a lack of leisure time, and a continuing interest among those colonists who did read in the affairs of their homeland rather than of their adopted country. Publishing continued to be a very modest industry, centred in Victoria, between 1850 and 1890, and almost all of it seems to have depended on payment of the cost of printing by the author himself. During the 1890s, however, Australian publishing became more firmly established. The centre shifted to Sydney, due mainly to the activities of Angus & Robertson, which had been founded in 1886 and under the leadership of George Robertson became the outstanding Australian publisher. Other well-known houses developed. From about 1930 there was a demand for books on outdoor subjects which stimulated much publishing activity, and during the second world war many books were locally manufactured and distributed that would formerly have been imported from the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, most of the Australian hunger for books was still satisfied from abroad. In 1958 I noted that no other country, except perhaps New Zealand, imported a greater proportion of the books it read.

During the 1950s the pattern of Australian book publishing began to change. Until then, the major British publishers had operated in Australia through sales offices, which existed for the purpose of selling the books published by the parent companies in London. They played little part at that time in local publishing. Some British publishers also had the practice of appointing local representatives, on commission, with the object of selling their British books. No U.S. publisher was established in Australia, though several of the technical publishers had some kind of agency arrangement.

During the 1950s and 60s, quite a number of British, and a few American, pub-



lishers established their own Australian companies. The current (1971) Directory of Members of the Australian Book Publishers Association contains the names of sixty-seven houses, of which thirty-eight are Australian-owned (one of them with a substantial British interest), twenty-one have British ownership, six American ownership, and two New Zealand ownership. During this period of foreign-owned development there has been a considerable increase as well in the activities of indigenous Australian publishing houses. In particular, the several Australian university presses have made an increasing and noteworthy contribution to Australian scholarly publishing.

Membership of the ABPA is open to persons or firms publishing books in Australia. Thus it is open to foreign firms providing that they have an Australian company. A British or U.S. company without an Australian establishment is not eligible.

The object in founding Australian branches of overseas companies was to enable them (a) to sell the books of their parent companies more effectively, and (b) to engage in original Australian publishing. In earlier times the British sales agents in Australia had almost invariably sold on the indent system. That is, they kept booksellers informed about British books and the booksellers then ordered the books, either directly from the publisher in London or through some London export house, or on indent terms through the publisher's Australian representative. As British publishers gradually extended their Australian establishments they began "closing the market" on some or all of their books and forcing the booksellers to buy from a central point in Australia (i.e., the publisher's local office). This had some advantages in that theoretically more stock was carried in the country, but also disadvantages in that the discounts given to the booksellers were smaller than offered in Britain, and in many cases the stock was not available either. The closing of markets has never been popular with Australian booksellers and has led to a good deal of "buying around" (from the U.K. or U.S.) by both booksellers and libraries, as it has in Canada.

The publishing activities of the various foreign companies followed the same lines as their parent companies. Some were general publishers, some tended to be scientific and technical, some educational, and so on.

Table 1, based on statistics gathered from members of the association, gives a reasonably accurate picture of the growth that has been taking place measured in monetary terms. Of course, very strenuous publishing programs have been carried out by the indigenous Australian publishers as well as the foreign companies. It would be wrong to suppose that it was not until the British or Americans arrived that Australian publishing really began. Certainly it accelerated then, but this was partly due to the tremendous growth of the country through the immigration program, and for other reasons. The foreign publishers came to Australia largely because they began to see the possibility of rewards. Before the country began to

TABLE 1: Staff, salaries, and turnover (in Australian dollars)

Year	1962	1966	1970
Number of returns included:	22 publishers	31 publishers	43 publishers
A. STAFF AND SALARIES			
1. Number of people employed in Australian book publishing	212	367	625
2. Total of wages and salaries paid to such people	\$ 471,796	\$1,020,953	\$ 2,305,837
B. TURNOVER			
3. Value of sales of Australian-published books within Australia	\$3,213,732	\$6,931,826	\$12,586,465
4. Value of sales of Australian-published books <i>outside Australia</i> (i.e., export sales including sales of sheets or bound books, but not including royalties received or sales of rights)	236,624	598,542	1,380,761
5. Total sales	\$3,450,356	\$7,530,368	\$13,967,226
6. Rights and other revenue			
(a) within Australia	\$ 11,594	\$ 12,875	\$ 27,232
(b) outside Australia	\$ 85,136	\$ 178,662	\$ 199,158
7. Value of all sales			
(a) educational	not	\$3,746,764	\$ 6,839,871
(b) other than educational	recorded	\$3,975,141	\$ 7,353,745

TABLE 2: Australian books published

Year	1962	1966	1970
Number of returns included	22 publishers	31 publishers	43 publishers
1. Number of new titles and new editions (showing average number printed in brackets)			
(a) fiction	26	27 (2,670)	34 (3,078)
(b) poetry, drama, belles lettres	27	30 (2,646)	29 (1,748)
(c) general literature	85	174 (4,131)	295 (6,114)
(d) children's books	13	47 (4,888)	56 (8,847)
(e) scientific and technical	26	141 (2,861)	121 (2,286)
(f) educational	99	347 (7,605)	372 (5,788)
(g) paperbacks	114	222 (11,631)	234 (5,780)
2. Number of titles reprinted (showing average number printed in brackets)			
(a) fiction	8	15 (2,971)	5 (2,137)
(b) poetry, drama, belles lettres	16	11 (3,468)	6 (4,633)
(c) general literature	60	68 (3,273)	75 (5,128)
(d) children's books	18	18 (2,181)	37 (4,567)
(e) scientific and technical	21	29 (2,389)	33 (6,504)
(f) educational	249	404 (8,570)	707 (8,415)
(g) paperbacks	50	56 (11,705)	100 (6,956)

boom they had been ready enough to take out, by way of sales of their British or U.S. books, but very reluctant to put anything in by way of publishing Australian work. Nevertheless it must be admitted that some of them are now making a substantial and outstanding contribution to Australian publishing.

Table 2 gives some indication of the number of titles published in the various categories. Perhaps it is sufficient to say that Australian publishing is now very similar in its general organization to British publishing, although of course on a much smaller scale. The range of publishing interests would be about the same. The majority of locally published books, naturally, have special relevance to the Australian scene, although an increasing amount of publishing of books of world interest is being undertaken as well.

The nationality of the ownership of publishing companies has not meant in practice that an un-Australian or anti-Australian attitude has prevailed. This may have been true in some isolated cases but certainly not in general. I think that most British and U.S. publishers have realized that if they are to make any sort of success out of Australian publishing they have to approach it in pretty much the same way as an original Australian publisher would. In this they have been assisted by the very high preponderance of Australians on their staffs. In fact relatively few people have been brought into publishing from abroad, although it must also be said that some of the best people in Australian publishing are not natives. On the whole, the British and U.S. companies have a very high proportion of Australians working for them, and filling most of their responsible positions. This has probably not been done out of any particular regard for Australians, but because it obviously helps local relationships with authors, booksellers, the press, and so on.

As I have said above, the local branches of overseas publishers tend to follow the same general lines of interest as their parent companies, for example, Heinemann Educational in Australia does in Australia roughly what Heinemann Educational would be doing in England, whereas William Heinemann (Australia) follows the line that would be followed by William Heinemann in the U.K. Educational publishing in Australia accounts for roughly half the total output of publishing. It tends to be concentrated heavily at the primary and secondary levels. It would be safe to say now that virtually all the books used in Australian primary and secondary schools are published in Australia by educational publishers or by the educational departments of general publishers, without much regard to the national ownership but with regard to the publishing direction of each company.

In the tertiary field most of the books used are still British or American, although this is steadily changing in favour of Australian textbooks. As university courses in purely Australian subjects (e.g., Australian history, literature, political science, etc.) increase in number and variety, the proportion of Australian tertiary books will grow. In the basic sciences, the classics, and so on, British and American books will probably always more than hold their own.



It might be noted that the system of distribution of educational books in Australia differs from that in the United States and Canada, or even in the U.K. Most primary and secondary books reach the schools through educational booksellers, or general booksellers with educational departments. Where educational authorities call for books in bulk it is usually done by tender, and the successful tenderers are usually the big educational booksellers, who in such cases cut the prices to allow only a very fine amount of profit.

#### PROTECTIVE MEASURES, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL

Australian publishing, and indeed the Australian book trade as a whole, enjoys very little protection. There are no tariffs of any kind on books entering Australia from any country in the world. Nor are there other forms of taxation on books, such as sales tax or purchase tax. There is, however, tariff protection of the paper manufacturing industry, which has been strenuously resisted by the Australian Book Publishers Association for many years. The Tariff Board has had many public hearings on duties on paper, and at all these hearings the Association has affirmed the principle that while books are duty-free (and it has never sought that they should be otherwise) then paper for the manufacture of books in Australia should also be duty-free. The Tariff Board has admitted publicly that the publishers are in a "difficult and anomalous situation" but has been unable to suggest a remedy. However the major paper manufacturers in the country, realizing that it did not make sense for them to antagonize book publishers who were potentially good customers, did eventually give certain relief to local publishers by way of rebates on paper used in book manufacture. Such rebates, however, do not quite equal the duty payable on similar papers imported from elsewhere. Publishers here have always regarded it as unfair that an Australian book can be printed in Hong Kong (as many are) and imported into the country duty-free, but the same paper, imported from Hong Kong or elsewhere to be printed locally, is dutiable. This was obviously one of the considerations leading to the move during the 1960s by most Australian publishers to switch their printing from Australian to Asian printers, and this in turn gave rise to the passing of the Book Bounty Act by the Commonwealth government in 1968.

This legislation was passed as a result of pressure put upon the government, not by the paper manufacturers but by the book manufacturing section of the Printing and Allied Trades Employers Federation of Australia, supported by the Australian Book Publishers Association. Unemployment was developing in the book manufacturing section of the printing trade and much plant was idle or underemployed. The act provided for a bounty of twenty-five per cent of the total cost of books manufactured in Australia, to be paid by the government to the manufacturer or manufacturers involved. It must be pointed out that the bounty is not intended directly as a help to Australian publishing, so much as a help to Australian book manufacturing. Indirectly it does assist publishers, although they can still buy most

of their books more cheaply from Hong Kong than they can from local printers, even allowing for the bounty. Nevertheless the majority of local publishers would prefer to base their publishing programs on local printing provided that the differential in price is not too great.

At the present time the Tariff Board is conducting a very wide-ranging hearing into the "products of the printing industry" in order that it may advise the government on what duties or other forms of assistance, if any, should be afforded to these products, including books. The Australian Book Publishers Association has given evidence, and has set out the reasons why it supports a bounty – preferably extended to 33  $\frac{1}{3}$  per cent – on books manufactured in Australia, and why its members would prefer to have their books manufactured locally. The reasons are:

1. Being conscious as they are of the difficulties of building their part of a native book industry they have no wish to do other than support the other local related industries of book printing and paper-making.
2. The quality of work available from local sources is generally acceptable. On quality comparison alone Australian printers and papermakers can successfully serve the needs of Australian publishing except for a small minority of special books for which some special technique or material not locally available may be required.
3. The service and delivery times available from a competent and well-organized Australian book printer should be superior to those available from a printer in another country.
4. There are many difficulties in communication between publishers in Australia and printers in foreign countries, particularly if the first language of the printers is not English. This remains true even though those publishers who have done considerable business with Asian printers have doubtless improved their lines of communication. It is considered that the extra cost of communication and supervision is about ten per cent of the manufacturing cost, on the average.
5. There are enough competent and well-equipped printers in Australia to ensure reasonable control of their prices by competition with one another.
6. In some cases publishers own, or have financial interests in, local book manufacturers.
7. There can be no long-term certainty, in an uncertain world, that foreign printing will always be available in all circumstances. If through lack of support by Australian publishers local printers turned from books to other printed articles, ceased to train operators in the skills required for book production, and allowed their specialized book machinery to become obsolete and uncompetitive, it could be said that Australian publishers had failed to pay a very important insurance policy and might live to regret it.

None of the Australian states has any incentive or restrictive measures in relation to books. In fact the constitution reserves any form of customs restrictions to the Commonwealth, and the states are not permitted to levy duties. Some states have an unspecified preference, in the case of school books, for those manufactured within that state; but in so far as this has any effect it is merely a moral effect, and nowhere has it been laid down as a condition, or even reduced to writing. Australian publishing is very much a Commonwealth-wide operation. The state boundaries have virtually no meaning, except that as education is a state matter, the textbooks used vary from state to state in accordance with the different curricula that have been devised by the state education authorities.

## CULTURAL GRANTS

Very early in the history of the Australian federation, in 1908, the government established a Commonwealth Literary Fund to assist prominent authors or their dependents who became impoverished. The first annual legislative grant was A\$1,050 distributed to fourteen deserving applicants in amounts of one to two dollars per week. After thirty years, the purposes of the fund were broadened. It continued to give pensions to outstanding writers who required assistance as a result of sickness or hardship. But it also began supporting the publication of Australian novels, short stories, drama, and verse (and more recently, history, biography, and other forms of literature); awarding a limited number of fellowships to authors to allow them to carry out research or write, with grants based in part on their previous work; fostering university, tutorial, and adult education lectures and seminars in Australian literature; and supporting literary journals.

Not all the Fund's objectives are related directly to assisting local publishing, but it does offer guarantees against loss in the case of books falling within its terms of reference and recommended by its Advisory Board, and it does occasionally pay outright grants to publishers by way of assistance in the production of major works, usually those which take a long time to complete and for which the cost cannot be established in the early stages when assistance is needed. For example some years ago it paid a sum of £2,000 as an outright grant towards the publication of H. M. Green's two-volume *History of Australian Literature*, a work which took over ten years to write and publish. Generally the assistance given by the Commonwealth Literary Fund is by way of guarantees against loss, and in the formula used the publisher is able to provide himself with a moderate profit. (There is some provision, should the book be unexpectedly successful, for the assistance to be reduced. This is made possible by the fact that only half the needed funds are paid before publication, the balance being paid twelve months after publication on presentation of the publisher's profit and loss account for the book to that date.) The Fund does not limit itself to assistance for first publication only, and has assisted publication of anthologies and of reprints of books that have gone out of print. Its grants are to publishers rather than authors in such cases.

The Commonwealth Literary Fund derives its revenue from the Commonwealth Parliament, which has increased the amount from time to time. At present it stands at A\$170,000 per year, and successive prime ministers have said that if it can be shown that this is insufficient for the effective carrying out of the objects for which the fund was established, Parliament will increase the amount, which it has in fact done on several occasions.

The Commonwealth Literary Fund is the only well-organized system of grants in the country. However, grants to assist the publication of scholarly books are made from time to time out of funds administered by individual universities (usually pretty slender funds), and books and authors and sometimes journals are oc-



asionally assisted by grants from the Academy of the Humanities or the Academy of Science. These are national bodies with headquarters in Canberra, and while their objects are not directly concerned with publishing, they are interested in the well-being of the state of publishing within their respective fields, and from time to time have funds which they devote to its assistance. Apart from the sources mentioned above, and in particular the CLF, there are virtually no other grants to authors, publishers, booksellers, or book manufacturers.

## COPYRIGHT

The present Copyright Act of the Commonwealth was enacted in 1968. It closely follows the recommendations made by the Spicer Committee, which sat during 1959 and reported to the Attorney-General at the end of that year. It is the general opinion of all those concerned with copyright that there was an excessive time delay between the receipt by the government of the Spicer Committee's report and the passage of the act, and during that time there were a number of developments which would possibly have altered some of the Spicer Committee's recommendations, in particular advances in photocopying and musical recording techniques. The act of 1968 fairly closely follows the British act of 1956, but there are some differences. Australia is in membership of both the Berne Union and the Universal Copyright Convention. The Copyright Act contains no provisions which act as incentives to domestic publishing (e.g., there is no so-called "manufacturing clause") but it does provide a remedy for the importation of infringing copies in that the person whose copyright is thereby infringed may require the Controller General of Customs to intercept and hold up the infringing copies (Section 135 and Regulation No. 21).

Photocopying has worried publishers and authors in Australia as elsewhere increasingly over the last ten years or so. The Australian Copyright Council (a body composed of delegates from associations representing owners or trustees of copyright in various forms and closely paralleling the Canadian Copyright Institute) has had several discussions with the Australian Vice-Chancellor's Committee regarding photocopying in universities, so far without much in the way of tangible results. It has also had several interviews with the Commonwealth Attorney-General and is expecting to have a further conference towards the end of this year on the vexed question of photocopying. In this regard we in Australia are probably no worse off than other copyright owners in other parts of the world, but we are certainly no better off either. Photocopying is rife, and a great deal of it is unlawful. But it is very difficult to detect and still more difficult to stop.

The Australian Society of Authors is campaigning actively for a Public Lending Right, with the support of the Australian Book Publishers Association. It seems probable that the Public Lending Right will be established in the fairly near future

in the U.K., and our hope is that a Lending Right along somewhat similar lines will be established in Australia. The Commonwealth government has so far not officially conceded that there is such a thing as a Public Lending Right, but it is equally true to say that it has not denied it, and in fact at least one of the major political parties (the Labor Party) has officially accepted it as a part of its platform. The indications are that the Commonwealth government is very much more likely to accede to a request for a Public Lending Right than to deny it. It remains to be seen whether it will be embodied in the Commonwealth copyright legislation or whether it will be the subject of special legislation as in some of the Scandinavian countries.

#### EXPORTS AND IMPORTS

Table 1 shows the export of Australian books (or more accurately Australian books published by members of the ABPA, which covers most book exports). Imports of books are shown in Table 3; the figures are supplied by the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics.

TABLE 3: Australian book imports\*

<i>Country</i>	<i>1967/68</i>	<i>1968/69</i>	<i>1969/70</i>	<i>1970/71 To April</i>	<i>Estimated 1970/71 Pro Rata</i>
<b>PAPERBACKS:</b>					
<i>Asian</i>					
Hong Kong	\$ 329,468	\$ 554,093	\$ 1,068,602	\$ 878,669	\$ 1,054,403
Singapore	16,367	127,837	109,304	296,022	355,226
Japan	282,608	360,569	393,076	349,819	419,783
Korea (Rep.)	—	—	—	—	—
Malaysia	26,856	2,827	27,904	4,595	5,514
Philippines	30	757	29	243	292
Taiwan	—	7	—	153	184
China (Rep.)	730	132	462	382	458
<i>Total Asian</i>	\$ 656,059	\$ 1,046,222	\$ 1,599,377	\$ 1,529,883	\$ 1,835,860
United Kingdom	5,710,844	7,588,544	8,407,234	8,086,222	9,703,466
United States	2,477,439	2,676,925	3,179,863	3,254,844	3,905,813
Switzerland	20,752	24,822	124,578	134,566	161,479
Netherlands	176,837	138,134	380,148	294,063	352,876
Germany, Fed. Rep.	60,149	60,747	102,856	61,522	73,826
New Zealand	48,929	77,394	65,037	76,264	91,517
Czechoslovakia	45,113	41,330	10,568	18,543	22,252
Italy	67,169	103,393	128,809	136,646	163,975
Other	269,735	229,349	258,406	307,845	369,403
<i>Grand Total</i>	\$9,533,026	\$11,986,860	\$14,256,876	\$13,900,398	\$16,680,467

\*Books manufactured outside Australia, regardless of nationality of publisher, who may be Australian. Figures are in Australian dollars.

The Commonwealth government has a program of export incentives based on remissions of taxes. Broadly there are two separate schemes. Under the first, exporters can be relieved of some or all of their payroll tax (a tax on wages paid) depending upon how their volume of exports increases as compared with a base year. Many publishers take advantage of this and some of them gain substantially from exemption from payroll tax. Under the second scheme, an exporter who is spending money on promotion, and in a number of other ways, exclusively for the purpose of stimulating exports, is entitled to deduct those export expenses not once but twice from his profits when making his tax return. These schemes cover books as well as all other exports. There are no schemes specifically related to books, either to stimulate exports or to restrict imports.

# BOOK TRADE ORGANIZATIONS

The book trade in Australia contains the following organizations:

*Australian Booksellers Association.* This is the oldest organization, dating from 1924. Originally it included booksellers in New Zealand but they formed a separate organization about 1930. This association is a federal body; its members are the state associations of booksellers, whose members in turn are the actual booksellers. The

				1970/71	Estimated
Country	1967/68	1968/69	1969/70	To April	1970/71 Pro Rata
HARDBOUND:					
Asian					
Hong Kong	\$ 651,685	\$ 1,270,274	\$ 1,522,775	\$ 1,796,561	\$ 2,155,873
Singapore	35,509	66,120	107,168	433,663	520,396
Japan	610,368	585,806	545,706	677,840	813,408
Korea (Rep.)	2,764	2,065	251	—	—
Malaysia	8,140	8,296	22,556	22,206	26,647
Philippines	113,160	816	5,571	7,843	9,412
Taiwan	3,051	3,641	5,583	2,942	3,530
China (Rep.)	478	435	394	177	212
Total Asian	\$ 1,425,155	\$ 1,937,453	\$ 2,210,004	\$ 2,941,232	\$ 3,529,478
United Kingdom	12,332,762	13,168,776	13,411,681	11,751,593	14,101,912
United States	8,555,004	8,722,741	8,898,538	9,363,714	11,236,457
Switzerland	687,745	445,743	668,172	714,200	857,040
Netherlands	380,922	305,447	237,172	142,881	171,457
Germany, Fed. Rep.	213,636	227,144	231,908	185,676	222,811
New Zealand	104,548	138,677	204,617	172,513	207,016
Czechoslovakia	236,946	322,130	129,777	167,693	201,232
Italy	263,682	648,961	691,279	268,968	322,761
Other	391,935	525,191	705,242	649,157	778,988
Grand Total	\$24,592,335	\$26,442,263	\$27,388,390	\$26,357,627	\$31,629,152



total membership of all state bodies would be about 650. The state associations elect delegates to the Australian Booksellers Association for formal and voting purposes; but the ABA annual conference (held in different states from year to year) is widely attended by booksellers who are free to speak on matters being discussed although not to vote as individuals. They may exercise their individual votes at the state level for the instruction of their delegates at the federal level.

*Australian Book Publishers Association.* The principal aims of this association are: to foster original and licensed publishing in Australia and to encourage local book manufacture of the highest possible standards of design and production; to develop Australian book publishing as an increasing force in international publishing; to maintain a constant liaison with other bodies associated with the manufacture and distribution of books, and to contribute to the improvement of the Australian book industry as a whole. Its membership has already been described. Its principal activities include an annual competition in book design and production; joint promotional efforts to boost the sale of members' books domestically, principally through Australian Book Week; liaison with the Commonwealth Literary Fund; liaison with other trade organizations and relevant government departments, including the Tariff Board. The most active committee, probably, is the one concerned with promoting book exports by various means, including co-operation with government agencies and other bodies, market research, promotion of books and the sale of rights overseas, foreign exhibitions, and exchange of information.

*Australian Society of Authors.* This body is only about five years old but is very active and includes most Australian writers in its membership of about eight hundred. It publishes a quarterly journal, *The Australian Author*. Although its object is naturally the improving of conditions for authors, and although the interests of authors and publishers do not always exactly coincide, the ASA and ABPA have mutual respect and their relationship is a most cordial one.

*Other Bodies.* There is an Association of Australian University Presses, the members of which are all members of the ABPA. This group meets from time to time to discuss matters of special interest to university presses, but takes no action in trade matters outside the framework of the ABPA.

In similar fashion there are groups within the ABA (e.g., religious booksellers, campus bookshops, etc.) which do not act independently of the national association.

There is also a Wholesale Booksellers Association with about twenty members. They are interested mainly, though not exclusively, in distribution of mass-market paperbacks, and in some cases in supply to libraries.

There have been from time to time various joint committees representing booksellers, wholesalers, Australian publishers, and British publishers formed for the purpose of administering the Statement of Terms under resale price maintenance. These bodies existed, with some changes in name and structure, from 1955 to 1970. There is no such committee at present.

For many years there was in Australia a British Publishers Representatives Association, but this was finally disbanded three years ago. The Publishers Association of the United Kingdom is not represented officially in Australia by any formal body. Its interests are close to those of the ABPA, however, and it has two representatives who report to it regularly on Australian book trade affairs.

#### MAINTENANCE OF PRICES

Until August 1971, it was lawful in Australia to indulge in resale price maintenance. This was done in the book trade by the use of two instruments, namely the "Statement of Terms and Conditions of Supply for Books published in Australia and the United Kingdom," and the "Schedule of Prices for British Books." The Statement of Terms was, in effect, an Australian equivalent to the British Net Book Agreement. It dated from 1947, subject to several amendments in detail but not in substance. The Schedule of Prices dated back to 1928 although there have been several revisions of its structure.

On 9 August 1971 there came into force an amendment to the Trade Practices Act which, from that date, automatically outlawed all forms of resale price maintenance on all forms of goods throughout Australia. The Act provides for the granting of exemptions, however, subject to the Tribunal's being satisfied that resale price maintenance on the commodity which is the subject of the exemption application is not contrary to the public interest.

The book trade has made an application for exemption. The case will be somewhat similar to the Net Book Case in England, and to the New Zealand case, in both of which price maintenance on books was successfully defended.

GEORGE A. FERGUSON is the grandson of George Robertson, the principal founder of Australia's largest publishing house, Angus & Robertson Ltd. For forty years he was associated with that house as bookseller, book printer, and book publisher, and for twenty-five of those years was in charge of its publishing operations. In 1970 he retired and was appointed the first director of the Australian Book Publishers Association, an office he still holds.

# *Book Publishing in Quebec*

GEORGES LABERGE AND ANDRE VACHON

Like many other things, the publishing industry in Quebec sprang from the activity of several different religious communities which settled in the province from 1842 on, at the call of the Bishop of Montreal, Mgr Ignace Bourget. At the time of their arrival there were not, properly speaking, any real publishing houses in the province. Books were printed and "published" by printers, several of whom were owners of newspapers and took the title of "printer-publisher." There was certainly no distribution network; the printer and the author sold their own books themselves. Furthermore, French books, and particularly textbooks in French, which were urgently needed following the opening of a great number of schools and colleges (secondary schools), still reached Canada only with great difficulty. For these reasons the religious communities, very shortly after their arrival in Canada, decided to write and publish their own textbooks. They succeeded so well that by the turn of the century almost all organized publishing in Quebec was concentrated in their hands, while all secular publishing was still, with only a few exceptions, at the "printer-publisher" stage.

Meanwhile, a few large bookstores, some of which are still operating today, were opened in Quebec and Montreal. These booksellers soon entered the field of publishing, and thus it can be said that secular publishing in Quebec is a creation of the bookselling trade, while in most countries the bookstore is a result of the publishing industry. Houses such as Beauchemin, Granger, Garneau, Wilson, and Lafleur, to name only the main ones, published a great deal at the beginning of the century and have continued to do so since. A few attempts to establish publishing houses unsupported by bookselling were made in the 1920s and 1930s, and failed. The situation remained unchanged up to the second world war; while almost all "printer-publishers" disappeared as publishers, the religious communities continued to vie with one another in publishing, as did the long established bookstores.



The initial stages (of textbook publishing by the religious communities and of secular publishing by the large bookstores) having been cleared, the second world war allowed Quebec to reach a third stage: the establishment of true secular publishing houses which had not sprung from printing or bookselling and which were not supported by either of these trades. It was impossible to import French books while the war lasted. Taking advantage of privileges granted by the Federal government, some publishing houses organized themselves, their main activity being the reprinting and distribution of French books. Three houses in particular devoted themselves to these essential tasks. They disappeared, however, with the return of peace – the last one closed its doors in 1947. But the movement had been launched: from then on Quebec would have enterprises whose main concern would be publishing.

The situation changed rapidly from 1945 to the present: the religious communities became less important in the publishing field and finally disappeared from the scene or modified their activities, while secular publishing based on private capital seeking a profit developed gradually. This evolution may be followed in the following three tables: one for the year 1945 at the end of the second world war; the second for the year 1965, following on the heels of the Bouchard Report (which will be discussed later) and the establishment of the Department of Education; and the third for the year 1971. In every case the figures include only those publishing houses which published or which still publish regularly in the French language.

TABLE 1: *French-language publishing in Quebec in 1945*

A. *Number and type of ownership of publishing houses*

Non-profit religious publishing houses	14
Profit-seeking secular publishing houses	7
Non-profit secular publishing houses	0
Co-operative	1
<i>Total</i>	22

B. *Types of books published by these houses*

	<i>Textbooks only</i>	<i>General trade publishing only</i>	<i>Both</i>
Non-profit religious publishing houses	11	1	2
Profit-seeking secular publishing houses	—	5	2
Non-profit secular publishing houses	—	—	—
Co-operative	1	—	—
<i>Total</i>	12	6	4

TABLE 2: *French-language publishing in Quebec in 1965*A. *Number and type of ownership of publishing houses*

Non-profit religious publishing houses	13
Profit-seeking secular publishing houses	22
Non-profit secular publishing houses	2
Co-operative	1
<i>Total</i>	<u>38</u>

B. *Types of books published by these houses*

	<i>Textbooks only</i>	<i>General trade publishing only</i>	<i>Both</i>
Non-profit religious publishing houses	8	2	3
Profit-seeking secular publishing houses	3	15	4
Non-profit secular publishing houses	—	—	2
Co-operative	1	—	—
<i>Total</i>	<u>12</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>9</u>

TABLE 3: *French-language publishing in Quebec in 1971*A. *Number and type of ownership of publishing houses*

Non-profit religious publishing houses	8
Profit-seeking secular publishing houses	26
Non-profit secular publishing houses*	8
Co-operative	0
<i>Total</i>	<u>42</u>

B. *Types of books published by these houses*

	<i>Textbooks only</i>	<i>General trade publishing only</i>	<i>Both</i>
Non-profit religious publishing houses	4	3	1
Profit-seeking secular publishing houses	6	14	6
Non-profit secular publishing houses	—	4	4
Co-operative	—	—	—
<i>Total</i>	<u>10</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>11</u>

\*Four of these non-profit secular publishing houses were university presses: Les Presses de l'université Laval, Les Presses de l'université de Montréal, Les Presses de l'université du Québec, and Les Presses des Hautes Etudes commerciales.

During the quarter century covered in the tables, the number of publishers in Quebec grew from twenty-two to forty-two, an increase of nearly one hundred per cent. During this period, also, Quebec publishing became strongly secularized. In 1945, 63.6 per cent of the publishing houses were owned by religious communities; by 1965 that proportion had shrunk to 34.2 per cent, and by 1971 it had dwindled to 19 per cent.

Paralleling the rise of lay ownership was an increase in the importance of general trade publishing (i.e., of all publishing with the exception of textbooks) compared with textbook publishing. Certain houses published only textbooks, others only general works, others did both. The following table shows the distribution:

TABLE 4: *Publishing activities of publishing houses (1954-71)*

	1945	1965	1971
Textbooks only	12 (54.5%)	12 (31.6%)	10 (23.8%)
General trade publishing only	6 (27.3%)	17 (44.7%)	21 (50.0%)
Both	4 (18.2%)	9 (23.7%)	11 (26.2%)

Thus the number of publishing houses in Quebec nearly doubled between 1945 and 1971 and the dominance of the religious publishing houses broke down; at the same time, general trade publishing, which now represents more than half the industry, was growing stronger.

Two other phenomena must be noted in the evolution which marked the years 1945 to 1971: the decreasing number of bookstores which occasionally ventured into publishing and of publishing houses which owned one or several bookstores, and the influx of foreign capital into Quebec publishing.

In 1945, nineteen out of twenty-two publishers, or 86.4 per cent, owned a bookstore; in 1965 twenty-one out of thirty-eight, or 55.3 per cent, did so; but by 1971 the number was down to eleven out of forty-two, or only 26.2 per cent. In both relative and absolute figures there was a definite reduction. Having broken away from printing, publishing in Quebec is in the process of breaking away from the bookselling trade in an attempt to become more autonomous – a trend which seems desirable.

Foreign capital began to flow only recently into Quebec publishing. In 1945 and in 1965, no publishing house was entirely owned by a foreign firm; but in 1971, five out of forty-two, or 12 per cent, were American- or French-owned. Furthermore, in at least one other enterprise, a minority share of the capital was foreign.

Certain factors explain the evolution of the profession between 1945 and 1971.

First, the second world war, as has been explained, was a propitious time for the establishment of private, secular publishing houses, autonomous of printing and bookselling. This trend has since gathered momentum, even though the principal publishing houses which were established during the war were dismantled with the return of peace. The extension of academic studies, the development of universities, and a broader world outlook resulted in a marked increase in the number of books to be published. While this was profitable for secular publishing, it is also true to say that, because of the increasing number of publishing houses, many potential authors were encouraged to put pen to paper. The first years of the "Quiet Revolution" in Québec coincided with a considerable increase in published works.

However, the most decisive factors in the rapid evolution of publishing in the



1960s seem to have been the following: the establishment of the Department of Education, the Bouchard Report on the book industry, and the government's decision to tax religious institutions engaged in publishing as a source of revenue.

The establishment of a department of education, the all-out efforts to get young people to better their education, and the organization of a whole network of school and college libraries, were all determining factors in the development of the Quebec publishing industry. Furthermore, the existence of that department and the impact of the Bouchard Report attracted the attention of foreign publishers, especially American and French ones, to the new market that was opening in Quebec.

The Bouchard Report was in good part responsible, as a result of its recommendations, for the withdrawal of religious communities from the field of textbook publishing or their transformation into corporations administered for the most part by laymen. The withdrawal or changes would not, however, have occurred so rapidly had Prime Minister Jean Lesage not announced, in 1965, the decision of his government to bring religious communities involved in commercial enterprises under the general tax laws. Several religious communities withdrew from the field of textbook publishing, while others formed private corporations.

#### DEVELOPMENTS IN THE 1960S

This then was the situation of the book publishing industry in Quebec when, in 1971 and then early in 1972, Orders-in-Council were published concerning the ownership of publishing houses and bookstores in Quebec and concerning book distribution in general. In order to understand fully the terms and the spirit of these Orders-in-Council, however, it is necessary to go back to the Royal Commission inquiry into bookselling in the province of Quebec (the Bouchard Commission).

In 1962, claiming that book distributors had agreed among themselves to fix prices, the Catholic School Board of Montreal asked the Department of Justice in Ottawa to investigate bookselling in Quebec. At the same time, the Conseil Supérieur du Livre, an organization which represented associations of Quebec-based publishers and booksellers, invoked "the gravity of the crisis" which was raging in the Quebec bookselling trade, and asked the Quebec government "to set up a board to regulate bookselling or, failing this, a royal commission inquiry with a mandate to study the problem and to recommend any other solution that would resolve it." (Bouchard Report, December 1963, p. 8) In reply to this request, the Quebec government set up the Bouchard Commission.

In his report, Maurice Bouchard recommended, among other things: that a board be created to regulate the sale of French-language books, that schools and other teaching institutions, various other institutions, and libraries subsidized by the provincial or municipal governments, be obliged to buy their books at accredited booksellers in the province; and furthermore that the provincial government

create a book centre for books written in French for the wholesale supplying of booksellers in Quebec. (*Ibid.* 193-5)

Wishing to act upon some of the recommendations in the Bouchard Report, the government in 1965 passed a law, under which it would accredit booksellers who measured up to established requirements, and authorize them to sell to subsidized institutions. This law was enacted and booksellers were accredited, but did not immediately become sole suppliers to these institutions.

The defeat of the government in 1966 signalled a slowdown in the implementing of the Bouchard recommendations. In 1967, however, the Department of Cultural Affairs tried to establish the *maison du livre de langue française* recommended by the Bouchard Report, i.e. a central supply depot for French-language books where booksellers would send their orders. But the Booksellers Association, supported by the Conseil Supérieur du Livre, opposed the establishment of this book centre. Another attempt to establish it was made in 1969, but the professional organizations once again succeeded in thwarting it.

During this period when the government and the book publishing profession – which itself was divided – held differing views of the problems at hand, certain foreign publishers and distributors became aware of the importance of the Quebec book market. Soon specialized textbook publishers (publishing at the elementary, secondary, and college levels) established themselves in the province. One of the consequences of the arrival of these houses – to whom the professional associations closed their doors – was the adoption in Quebec of North American modes of distribution, in which the publisher sells directly to the teaching institutions at a 20 per cent discount (equal to that granted to the bookstore). This method of distribution was not then common in Quebec, where a network of bookstores across the province had been created and maintained with the support of the publishers, who did not, in general, grant public institutions the same discounts they gave booksellers.

At the same time as American and some French publishers were establishing themselves in Quebec, French commission agents – agents specializing in the distribution of exported books – were making an effort to secure part of the Quebec market. Although they collected a tax (the TVA – a sales tax incorporated in the selling price) from their customers, the French exporters (publishers as well as commission agents) had the privilege of not paying the tax to the French government, which in this way sought to help their efforts and promote exports. Instead of reducing the selling price of their books by the amount of the tax and thus benefitting their customers, the commission agents took advantage of this extra margin to offer to institutions discounts equal to those given to booksellers, who were soon threatened by the loss of the public institutions as their clients.

These two simultaneous developments – the establishment of foreign publishers in Quebec and the arrival of the French commission agents – checked the traditional system of distribution in the province and undermined the network of book-

stores which was unique in North America. That network had been built and maintained thanks to the clientele of educational institutions and libraries that were now starting to bypass it.

The government of Quebec, conscious that this situation could soon destroy the provincial network of bookstores – a matter of prime cultural importance – decided to apply one of the most important recommendations of the Bouchard Report and published several successive Orders-in-Council to this end.

#### THE ORDERS-IN-COUNCIL OF FEBRUARY 1972

A brief examination of the numerous Orders-in-Council which were published in 1971 and 1972 suggests the hesitations and gropings of the provincial government as it made regulations in the field of book publishing and distribution. It also indicates the evolution which took place before the most recent solution was reached in February 1972. We shall not try to describe the ministerial thought process because that would confuse our account and we would risk losing ourselves in insignificant details. Let us note, however, the following amendments. Because of pressure applied by professional book organizations, the proportion of Canadian capital required in order that an enterprise be considered Quebec-based, which had originally been set at eighty per cent, is now only fifty per cent. Furthermore, whereas in 1971 the province had intended to set the selling price of all books, regardless of language or origin, it will henceforth fix prices only of French- and English-language books imported from five designated countries.

The last three Orders-in-Council (February 1972) are concerned with the ownership of publishing houses and bookstores, with the sources of supply of subsidized institutions, and with the standards and conditions for accreditation of booksellers. It is important to examine each of these.

#### *Order-in-Council regarding assistance to publishing and book distribution.*

According to this Order-in-Council, the companies and corporations which can apply for publishing grants must be incorporated under the laws of Quebec, they must have their main place of business in Quebec, and the majority of the directors and senior management must be Canadian citizens domiciled in Quebec. Moreover, fifty per cent of the voting and non-voting shares must belong to Canadians domiciled in Quebec or to companies who do business in Quebec and who are registered with the Department of Financial Institutions in Quebec.

Under the provisions of the Order-in-Council, the government may not grant subsidies to any individual, even the owner of a large publishing house whether Canadian or foreign, but only to a company or a corporation. However, a publishing house which does not wish to ask for a grant can function regardless of the nationality, individual, or corporate nature of its ownership. In short, this Order-



in-Council is concerned only with the conditions required in order to obtain financial assistance in publishing.

*Order-in-Council amending the regulations respecting booksellers' accreditation.*

This Order-in-Council is concerned only with those booksellers who wish to supply provincially subsidized institutions. The bookseller who operates only a retail business serving the public at large, excluding subsidized institutions, is not affected.

In respect to the ownership of bookstores, the standards of approval are the same as for publishing houses which want to obtain grants, with the exception that an individual or group of individuals who own a bookstore do not have to form a company or a corporation in order to be accredited.

Furthermore, in order to be accredited, bookstores in major centres must carry a stock of at least 5,000 titles, including at least 700 by Canadian authors, excluding textbooks. The minimum inventory value, based on the purchase price, must be \$15,000. If the town where the bookstore does business has fewer than 10,000 inhabitants, the stock must be at least 3,000 titles, including at least 500 books by Canadian authors, with a minimum purchase value of \$10,000. The bookseller must also be equipped with fairly complete bibliographical resources and have a competent and permanent staff.

If the bookseller wants to devote himself to the sale of textbooks, he must have on display at least one copy of every text approved by the Department of Education.

The rules for accreditation with regard to ownership, inventory, bibliographical material, and personnel are thus now very precise.

*Order-in-Council regarding assistance to accredited booksellers.*

The third Order-in-Council compels all provincially subsidized institutions to buy all their new books, including teaching materials such as teachers' manuals, texts, index cards, and audio-visual material, in both English and French, and of whatever origin, from accredited booksellers in order to continue receiving their subsidies. This ruling also applies to the government itself. The Government Purchasing Service and government departments and agencies must purchase their supplies from accredited booksellers.

Subsidized institutions must, moreover, divide their purchases equitably among at least three accredited bookstores located in their administrative region and not owned by the same person. (On 29 March 1966 the Quebec government divided the province into ten administrative regions.) However, universities, colleges, public libraries, and medical libraries, although obliged to divide their purchases, are not restricted regionally but can buy from any accredited bookstore in the province.

All French-language books required by subsidized institutions must henceforth be bought only in Quebec. The same restrictions do not yet apply to English-

language trade and reference books: thirty per cent of purchases of these must be bought in Quebec from accredited bookstores in 1972, sixty per cent in 1973, and one hundred per cent thereafter. These books it must be noted, are also exempt from regional restrictions and can be bought from any accredited bookstore in Quebec.

Certain categories of books are exempt from the rules just outlined: scientific, technical, and medical books costing more than \$11.00 which are included in cultural agreements between France and Quebec; books (encyclopaedias, books from book clubs, etc.) which are not normally sold in bookstores; old and rare books that are out of print; deluxe collectors' editions; and government publications whether Canadian or foreign.

The government in this Order-in-Council sets the prices of the books sold by booksellers to subsidized institutions. The sales price to the public, however, remains free. In order to avoid being arbitrary the government has set the prices in terms of the discount obtained by the bookseller, and has taken into consideration the ownership of the copyright. Distinctions have been made among books as to:

1. those which have a Canadian copyright
2. those which are distributed in Canada by only one agent
3. those which can be imported freely from France, Belgium, Switzerland, Great Britain, and the United States
4. textbooks.

In the first two cases (books with Canadian copyright and those distributed by only one agent in Canada) the institutions will pay the price suggested by the publisher – modified upwards or downwards depending on the discount given to the average bookseller. If a bookseller receives a discount of 38 to 40 per cent, he will pass on a 15 per cent discount to the buying institution; if he gets a discount of 33  $\frac{1}{3}$  to 35 per cent, he will pass on 5 per cent; he will sell at the retail price if his discount is between 15 and 30 per cent; he will add 5 per cent to the suggested catalogue price if he gets only a 10 per cent discount; and he will add 15 per cent if he bought at net price without any discount.

In the case of textbooks where the normal discount in North America is 20 per cent, the bookseller will bill the purchasing institution at the suggested retail price less an 8 per cent discount. If the bookseller obtains a smaller discount, he will raise the price proportionately, taking as his base the catalogue price less 8 per cent.

A conversion table of national currencies into Canadian dollars is presented in the Order-in-Council for books which can be imported freely from France, Belgium, Switzerland, England, and the United States.

If the bookseller, at the customer's request, renders additional services, such as indicating on the book its Dewey classification number or giving it a library binding, he is allowed to charge for those services over and above the fixed prices.

TABLE 5: *Conversion rates*

Discount obtained from foreign publisher	France	Belgium	Switzerland	U.S. without customs duty	U.S. with customs duty	Great Britain
38-40%	.206	.024	.27	.90	1.00	2.7
33 $\frac{1}{3}$ -35%	.215	.0255	.285	.90	1.00	2.85
25-30%	.23	.027	.30	1.05	1.15	3.0
20%	.26	.031	.34	1.05	1.15	3.4
0-15%	.26	.031	.34	1.20	1.30	3.4

## CONCLUSIONS

Nine years after the publication of the Bouchard Report, its principal recommendations have now been implemented. Between the end of 1963 and the adoption of the most recent Orders-in-Council, a rapid and important evolution has taken place which will leave its mark on the book industry in Quebec for a long time to come. Moreover, it seems that if the objectives sought by the recent rulings are achieved, there will be an unprecedented rise of activity in bookselling and publishing in the province. One will find, or at least one might hope to find, several bookstores in every area of the province where books written in French, and in particular books written by Quebec authors, will be available to a new degree, owing to the new profitability of the regional bookstore.

Difficulties will, undoubtedly, arise before the objective is attained, and perhaps the present regulations will have to be modified once again. However, because the government has not regulated the book industry by a law passed by vote of the National Assembly, but rather through Orders-in-Council, it will be possible to modify the present laws quickly if necessary. Needs should be easily met, as new problems arise, before they reach the crisis stage. This seems to be the desire of the government of Quebec.

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\*This translation is based on a background paper written for the Commission by the authors in French.



# APPENDIX: The Orders in Council of February 1972 respecting book publishing and distribution in the Province of Quebec.

Extract from the *Québec Official Gazette* of February 19, 1972

## ORDER IN COUNCIL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL CHAMBER

Number 352-72

Québec, February 2, 1972

Present: The Lieutenant-Governor in Council.

RESPECTING assistance for the publication and distribution of books.

WHEREAS it is expedient to assist publishers and distributors of books in Québec;

IT IS ORDERED therefore on the motion of the Minister of Cultural Affairs:

THAT the Québec government may grant subsidies for the publication and distribution of books only to the companies or corporations which meet the following conditions:

A) In the case of a company or corporation, it shall be necessary:

(a) that it be incorporated under Québec laws; such rule shall not apply to companies which, having been incorporated under the laws of Canada, were operating a publishing or distributing house, in Québec territory, on the 1st of May 1971;

(b) that it have its main place of business in Québec;

(c) that the majority of the directors be Canadian citizens domiciled in Québec;

(d) that the president, the general manager, the assistant general manager and the secretary treasurer be Canadian citizens domiciled in Québec;

(e) that 50% of the shares issued, representing at least 50% of the votes which may be cast, in all circumstances, at a meeting of shareholders and 50% of the combined paid up capital and acquired surplus belong to one or more of the following persons:

(i) to one or more Canadian citizens domiciled in Québec

(ii) to one or more companies or corporations

(aa) incorporated under Québec laws,

(bb) having their main places of business in Québec,

(cc) of which the majority of directors are Canadian citizens domiciled in Québec,

(dd) of which the president, the general manager, the assistant general manager and the secretary-treasurer are Canadian citizens domiciled in Québec,

(ee) of which the majority of the shares issued, representing at least 50% of the votes which may be cast, in all circumstances, at a meeting of shareholders and 50% of the combined paid up capital and acquired surplus belong to Canadian citizens domiciled in Québec and/or, directly or indirectly, to the Québec government;

B) In the case of a corporation governed by the Cooperative Associations Act (R.S. 1964, ch. 292) or by the Savings and Credit Unions Act (R.S. 1964, ch. 293) the majority of the members or directors as well as the president, the general manager, the assistant general manager and the secretary-treasurer must be Canadian citizens domiciled in Québec;

THAT 50% of the debt of the companies, corporations and corporations governed by the Cooperative Associations Act (R.S. 1964, ch. 292) or by the Savings and Credit Unions Act (R.S. 1964, ch. 293) be represented by engagements taken toward persons meeting the conditions mentioned in paragraph A, sub-paragraph e, hereinabove or toward financial institutions doing business in Québec and registered with the Department of Financial Institutions, Companies and Cooperatives;

THAT a company or corporation applying for a subsidy for the publication or distribution of books furnish with its application a sworn or solemn declaration certifying that it meets the conditions of this order in council and that it give access to its books and all other relevant documents, to the authorities of the Québec government for auditing purposes;

THAT book publishing and distributing houses which do not meet the conditions expressed hereinabove have until the 30th of April 1973 to change their juridical structure, the composition of their board of directors and their financial structure in accordance with the requirements of this order in council, in order to benefit by subsidies for book publication and distribution.

THAT this order in council shall not affect agreements made between the government of Québec and any other government;

THAT orders in council number 2799 of the 4th of August 1971 and number 3297 of the 29th of September 1971 be repealed.

Julien Chouinard,  
*Clerk of the Executive Council.*

Extract from the *Québec Official Gazette* of February 26, 1972

ORDER IN COUNCIL  
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL CHAMBER

Number 353-72

Québec, February 2, 1972

Present: The Lieutenant-Governor in Council

RESPECTING the amendments to the Regulation respecting booksellers accreditation

WHEREAS under paragraph *a* of sections 10 of the Booksellers Accreditation Act, the Lieutenant-Governor in Council may make regulations to determine the qualifications required of and the conditions to be fulfilled by any person applying for accreditation or renewal;

WHEREAS it is expedient to amend the regulation respecting booksellers accreditation (O.C. 2800 of August 2, 1971).

Therefore, it is ordered, on the recommendation of the Minister of Cultural Affairs:

THAT the amendments to the Regulation respecting booksellers accreditation be approved.

The regulation shall hereafter read as follows: See Schedule A.

THAT Orders in Council numbers 2800 of August 2, 1971, 3298 of September 29, 1971 and 168-72 of January 19, 1972 be repealed.

Julien Chouinard,  
*Clerk of the Executive Council.*

SCHEDULE A

*Regulations respecting booksellers accreditation*

1.0 *Definition:* In this regulation the expression "bookshops accreditation" is equivalent to "booksellers accreditation" and the expression "applicant" means any person applying for a certificate of accreditation for a bookshop.

2.0 *Conditions for the accreditation of a bookshop:* For the granting of a certificate of accreditation to a bookshop the applicant must at all times be qualified as hereinafter described and comply with the following conditions:

2.1 *Qualifications required*

(a) to have his chief place of business in Québec;

(b) to keep a shop accessible from the street or the mall of a commercial centre, with sign and shop-window in front; such shop shall be open during the whole year in compliance with the local municipal by-laws and business customs;

(c) in any municipality of more than 10,000 inhabitants, to have on hand unused French and/or English books, excluding the school-books on the lists approved by the Minister of Education:

1. of a value of at least \$15,000 at purchase price;
2. with a minimum of 5,000 titles on display, including at least 700 titles by Canadian authors in the case of bookshops with a general literature department and 400 by Canadian authors in the case of other bookshops;

(d) in any municipality of less than 10,000 inhabitants, to have on hand a variety of unused French and/or English books, excluding the school-books on the lists approved by the Minister of Education:

1. of a value of \$10,000 at purchase price;
2. with a minimum of 3,000 titles on display, including at least 500 titles from Canadian authors in the case of bookshops with a general literature department and 300 from Canadian authors in the case of other bookshops;

(e) to have adequate bibliographical equipment in the language and field of its specialty, including at least the latest catalogues from the main publishers, the current year's lists of available books, the general catalogues and the lists of books approved or recommended by the Government, and receive through subscription professional bibliographical publications;

(f) to have a permanent personnel trained to use the bibliographical material above-mentioned.

## 2.2 *General conditions*

(a) to agree to sell regularly and without interruption unused books in the language and field of its specialty to subsidized institutions and to individuals;

(b) to fill within a reasonable delay the orders of subsidized institutions for unused books, in the language and field of its specialty;

(c) to sell subsidized institutions, in accordance with the standards and conditions determined in the order in council respecting assistance to accredited bookshops, unused French and/or English books;

(d) upon request, to supply the Minister of Cultural Affairs with any information useful for the application of this regulation;

(e) to take no part in any collusion, nor have any conflict of interest, nor use undue influence, nor trade in influence when dealing with one or more subsidized institutions.

## 2.3 *Special conditions*

A-If the applicant is an individual, he must be a Canadian citizen domiciled in Québec;

B-If the applicant is a partnership:

(a) it must be incorporated under the laws of Québec;

(b) the general manager, assistant general manager and supervisor must be Canadian citizens domiciled in Québec;

(c) 50% of the aggregate of the capital paid up by the partners and of the acquired surplus must be owned by one or more Canadian citizens domiciled in Québec;

C-If the applicant is a company or corporation:

(a) it must be incorporated under the laws of Québec; such rule respecting incorporation shall not apply to companies which, after having been incorporated under the laws of Canada, were operating a bookshop in Québec on the 1st of May 1971;

(b) the majority of the directors must be Canadian citizens domiciled in Québec;

(c) the president, general manager, assistant general manager and secretary-treasurer must be Canadian citizens domiciled in Québec;

(d) 50% of the shares issued, representing at least 50% of the notes that might be registered at any time at a shareholders' meeting and 50% of the aggregate of the paid-up capital and of the acquired surplus, must be owned by a single one or each of the following persons:

(i) one or more Canadian citizens domiciled in Québec;



- (ii) one or more companies or corporations;
- (aa) incorporated under the laws of Québec;
- (bb) the majority of the directors of which are Canadian citizens domiciled in Québec;
- (cc) the president, general manager, assistant general manager and secretary-treasurer of which are Canadian citizens domiciled in Québec;
- (dd) of which 50% of the shares issued, representing at least 50% of the votes that may be exercised in all circumstances at a shareholders' meeting and 50% of the aggregate of the paid-up capital and of the acquired surplus, are owned by Canadian citizens domiciled in Québec and/or, directly or indirectly, by the Québec Government.

D – If the applicant is a corporation governed by the Cooperative Associations Act (R.S. 1964, ch. 292) or the Savings and Credit Unions Act (R.S. 1964, ch. 293), the majority of the members or directors as well as the president, general manager, assistant general manager and secretary-treasurer must be Canadian citizens domiciled in Québec;

E – Whoever the applicant may be – individual, partnership, company or corporation – 50% of the debt thereof must consist of liabilities towards persons fulfilling the conditions mentioned in subparagraph *d* of paragraph C above or towards finance companies operating in Québec and registered with the Department of Financial Institutions, Companies and Cooperatives;

F – No applicant may receive a certificate of accreditation for a bookshop if he refuses, while having exclusive rights to the sale of publications or any book, to sell to another accredited bookshop on conditions corresponding to those usually obtained from a publisher by accredited bookshops for books of the same kind.

3.0 *Declaration*: The applicant must supply, along with his application for certification, a sworn or solemn declaration to certify that he is qualified as above described, complies with the general and special conditions of this regulation and keeps his books and every other pertinent document at the disposal of the authorities of the Québec Government for auditing purposes.

4.0 *Sale of school-books to subsidized institutions*: To sell school-books to subsidized institutions any accredited bookshop must always have on hand at least one copy of each of the French and/or English school-books properly so called and mentioned as such on the lists of the text-books approved by the Minister of Education.

#### 5.0 *Accreditation renewed*

5.1 Any accredited bookshop wishing to have its certificate of accreditation renewed must send, within 2 months before the expiry of the latter, an application for such purpose, in the prescribed form, to the Minister of Cultural Affairs who shall submit such application to the appreciation of the Advisory Committee on Books.

5.2 When renovating the premises or moving, the holder of a certificate of accreditation must apply again, within 8 days after such renovating or moving, for accreditation, his certificate remaining in force until the Minister of Cultural Affairs has come to a decision as to such new application.

5.3 When an accredited bookshop is sold, the new owner must send a new application for accreditation.

#### 6.0 *Transitional provisions*

6.1 Every bookshop the certificate of accreditation of which has expired on the 31st of March 1971 and which does not comply with the qualifications required by section 2.1 shall have until the 1st of April 1972 to comply with the said requirements.

6.2 Every bookshop which held, on the 31st of March 1971, a certificate of accreditation, and does not comply with the special conditions provided in this regulation shall have until the 30th of April 1973 to comply with the said special conditions subject to the clause contained in subparagraph *a*) of paragraph C in section 2.3, respecting incorporation.

7.0 This regulation shall come into force from the date of its publication in the *Québec Official Gazette*.

Extract from the *Québec Official Gazette* of February 26, 1972

ORDER IN COUNCIL  
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL CHAMBER

Number 354-72

Québec, February 2, 1972

Present: The Lieutenant-Governor in Council

RESPECTING assistance to accredited bookshops.

WHEREAS it is expedient to promote the distribution of books in Québec and make them more readily available to the public.

THEREFORE, it is ordered, on the recommendation of the Minister of Cultural Affairs:

1.0 *Purchasing clauses to be complied with by subsidized institutions*

THAT, in order to be eligible to non-statutory grants from the Québec Government towards the purchase of unused French and English books from all points of origin (in this order in council such term also includes pedagogical materials such as teachers' handbooks, tests, index cards and audio-visual material mentioned in the lists of books approved by the Minister of Education or complementary to such books), subsidized institutions such as public libraries, municipal corporations, school boards, hospitals and educational establishments must purchase such books from bookshops accredited by the Minister of Cultural Affairs and prepared to supply such institutions with the necessary books and services. In this order in council the expression "librairie agréée" in the French text is equivalent to "librairie accréditée" (accredited bookshop).

2.0 *Regionalization of purchases.*

2.1 THAT subsidized institutions must purchase the said books in the accredited bookshops located in their administrative regions as determined by order in council number 524 of March 29, 1966.

2.2 THAT university and College institutions, public libraries and the medical libraries of hospital institutions may however purchase from any accredited bookshop, whether or not the latter be located in their administrative region, provided they divide such purchases fairly among at least 3 accredited bookshops not owned by the same person.

2.3 THAT the subsidized institutions purchasing English books (other than the school-books on the lists approved by the Minister of Education):

(a) shall purchase such books from accredited bookshops, whether or not the latter be located in their administrative region;

(b) shall divide such purchases fairly among at least 3 accredited bookshops not owned by the same person;

(c) shall purchase the said books in accredited bookshops in a proportion of 30% during their present fiscal year, 60% during their next fiscal year and 100% during subsequent fiscal years.

3.0 *Dividing purchases.*

3.1 THAT the subsidized institutions not mentioned in section 2.2 shall divide their purchases fairly among at least 3 accredited bookshops of their administrative region and not owned by the same person.

3.2 THAT subsidized institutions must supply upon request vouchers proving that such fair division has been made.

3.3 THAT subsidized institutions shall not purchase from bookshops in which they themselves or subsidized institutions or any association of such institutions hold a direct or indirect interest as owners, partners, shareholders or members qualified to vote.

3.4 THAT subsidized institutions shall not purchase from accredited bookshops wherein one or more persons taking part in the administrative decisions of the said institutions hold a direct or indirect interest as owners, partners, shareholders or members qualified to vote.

3.5 Notwithstanding sections 3.3 and 3.4, university institutions may purchase, on account of the nature of their needs, from accredited bookshops owned by themselves.

4.0 *Price to be paid by subsidized institutions.*

4.1 THAT subsidized institutions shall be bound by the obligation to purchase unused French or English books in accredited bookshops only insofar as:

(a) accredited bookshops – as regards foreign books not under exclusive distributing rights in Canada which the said bookshops may purchase in foreign currency from the original foreign publisher (or his exclusive foreign distributor) – sell them the said books at the Canadian dollar exchange rates shown on table A hereto annexed;

(b) accredited bookshops – as regards the books under Canadian copyright which the said bookshops may purchase from the original Canadian publisher (or his exclusive distributor) – sell them the said books at the list price fixed by such Canadian publisher, either at a discount or, as the case may be, at a marginal increase for services rendered, both determined as shown on table B hereto annexed;

(c) accredited bookshops – as regards foreign books, under exclusive distributing rights in Canada which the said bookshops may purchase from the exclusive distributor – sell them the said books at the list price fixed by such exclusive distributor, either at a discount or, as the case may be, at a marginal increase for services rendered, as shown on table B hereto annexed;

(d) accredited bookshops – as regards the school-books approved by the Minister of Education which the said bookshops may purchase in Canadian currency from the original publisher (or his exclusive distributor) – sell them the said books at the list prices fixed by such publisher (or his distributor), either at a discount or, as the case may be, at a marginal increase for services rendered, as shown on table C hereto annexed.

4.2 When accredited bookshops, by applying the exchange rates for foreign currency mentioned in table A and/or the discounts and margins mentioned in tables B and C, arrive at net unit prices in Canadian dollars which entail a fraction, the net unit prices to be paid by subsidized institutions shall be rounded off to one cent higher if such fraction is  $\frac{5}{10}$  or more and to one cent lower if such fraction is less than  $\frac{5}{10}$ .

4.3 THAT the prices established under the clauses provided in tables A, B and C do not include the costs of binding added at the purchaser's request, of technical adjustments for libraries (marking catalogue numbers, supplying index-cards and pockets, gluing original covers over bindings, dust-covers, etc.) or transport costs, which may not be charged if the subsidized institution is located in the same administrative region as the supplier.

4.4 THAT the prices established in the manner described in this section may not be increased or lowered in any way by concealed benefits or commissions and discounts other than those provided in this regulation.

4.5 THAT the refund granted to its members or clients by any corporation governed by the Co-operative Associations Act or the Savings and Credit Unions Act shall constitute a commission within the meaning of the preceding section.

5.0 *The Government Purchasing Service and Government departments and bodies.*

THAT the Literary Service of the Department of Cultural Affairs shall send periodically, to the Government Purchasing Service and to the Government departments and bodies, a complete list of accredited bookshops, classified by administrative regions, where they may purchase their books.

6.0 *Information required from bookshops and marking the price of books.*

6.1 THAT, when accredited bookshops sell, to subsidized institutions, foreign books not under exclusive distributing rights in Canada and which the said bookshops have bought or could buy from the original foreign publisher (or his exclusive foreign distributor) in foreign currency, subsidized institutions shall see that accredited bookshops enter in their invoices, opposite each title or, in the case



of books of a collection at a uniform price, opposite the name of such collection, the following particulars:

- (1) the foreign list price in force at the time when the book or collection is ordered;
- (2) the code number from table A hereto annexed indicating the name of the country of origin and the applicable exchange rate;
- (3) the net unit price in dollars after such exchange rate has been applied.

THAT, for control purposes, accredited bookshops mark in such books and at the usual place the said foreign list prices of the said books and the code numbers.

6.2 THAT, in the case of books other than those mentioned in section 6.1, subsidized institutions shall see that accredited bookshops enter in their invoices:

- (1) the list price in Canadian dollars of the book or collection;
- (2) the code number from tables B and C hereto annexed;
- (3) the net unit price in Canadian dollars.

THAT, for control purposes, accredited bookshops mark in such books and at the usual place the said list price of the publisher and the code number.

6.3 THAT accredited bookshops enter at the end of the invoice, after the amount for books, the price of the binding added at the purchasers' request, of the technical adjustment for libraries and the transport costs, if any.

#### 7.0 *Exceptions*

THAT the following unused French and English books may be purchased elsewhere than in accredited bookshops:

7.1 Scientific, technical and medical books in French which retail for more than \$11. and are listed among the titles subject to a grant when sold in universities under Franco-Québec agreements.

7.2 Books – other than school-books on the lists of books approved by the Minister of Education – which publishers (or their exclusive distributors) have chosen to distribute solely through other channels than bookshops, and which have been entered in the register of books, collections and goodwill, such register being kept at the Department of Cultural Affairs and open to inspection by subsidized institutions and accredited bookshops;

7.3 Old and rare books, that is those the publisher (or the exclusive distributor) of which has ceased to supply them to accredited bookshops for at least one year and the reprint of which has not yet been announced.

7.4 Collectors' books, that is those in limited and numbered editions distinguished by the quality of the paper, the typography, or, on occasion, the illustrations.

7.5 The tentative publishing of school-books not yet approved by the Minister of Education ceded or sold by a publisher to a subsidized institution, on special terms, so that the latter may test such books in certain classes.

7.6 Official publications of the Government and international organizations.

#### 8.0 *Special provision.*

THAT this regulation not restrict the agreements signed between the Government of Québec and any other Government.

#### 9.0 *Final provision.*

THAT order in council number 2801 of August 4, 1971, be repealed.

Julien Chouinard,  
Clerk of the Executive Council.

TABLE A: *Prices to be Paid by Subsidized Institutions*

Foreign books not under exclusive distributing rights in Canada, that accredited bookshops may purchase from the original foreign publisher (or his exclusive foreign distributor) and for which they are billed in foreign currency.

Basic discounts obtained by accredited bookshops	Categories of books generally corresponding to the basic discounts opposite	Foreign currency exchange rate used to determine the net prices to be paid by institutions for books from					
		France	Belgium	Switzerland	U.S.A. When there are no customs duties	U.S.A. When there are customs duties	Great Britain
40% and 38%	General literature, books for youth, art books, religious and applied literature, pocket-book collections, etc.	.206 (F-1)	.024 (B-1)	.27 (S-1)	.90 (E-1)	1.00 (ED-1)	2.7 (G-1)
35% and 33 1/3%	<i>idem</i>	.215 (F-2)	.0255 (B-2)	.285 (S-2)	.90 (E-2)	1.00 (ED-2)	2.85 (G-2)
30% and 25%	Dictionaries, encyclopaediae, scientific and technical, medical, law, scholarly and teaching books, school-books approved by the Dept. of Education, etc.	.23 (F-3)	.027 (B-3)	.30 (S-3)	1.05 (E-3)	1.15 (ED-3)	3.0 (G-3)
20%	Scholarly books, encyclopaediae, etc.	.26 (F-4)	.031 (B-4)	.34 (S-4)	1.05 (E-4)	1.15 (ED-4)	3.4 (G-4)
15%	<i>idem</i>	.26 (F-5)	.031 (B-5)	.34 (S-5)	1.20 (E-5)	1.30 (ED-5)	3.4 (G-5)
10%	<i>idem</i>	.26 (F-6)	.031 (B-6)	.34 (S-6)	1.20 (E-6)	1.30 (ED-6)	3.4 (G-6)
0%	<i>idem</i>	.26 (F-7)	.031 (B-7)	.34 (S-7)	1.20 (E-7)	1.30 (ED-7)	3.4 (G-7)

TABLE B: *Prices to be Paid by Subsidized Institutions*

- Canadian books which may be purchased by certified bookshops in Canadian currency from the original Canadian publisher (or his exclusive distributor);
- Foreign books under exclusive distributing rights in Canada and that may be purchased by certified bookshops in Canadian currency from the exclusive distributor;
- . . . except, in both cases, school books approved by the Minister of Education.

Basic discounts obtained by accredited bookshops	Categories of books generally corresponding to the basic discounts opposite.	Discounts to be allowed to institutions on the Canadian list prices	Margins for services rendered and to be added to Canadian list prices to be paid by institutions
40% and 38%	General literature, books for youth, art books, religious and applied literature, pocket-book collections, etc.	15%  (X-1)	
35% and 33 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>3</sub> %	<i>idem</i>	5%  (X-2)	
30% and 25%	Dictionaries, encyclopaediae, scientific and technical, medical, law, scholarly and teaching books	0%  (X-3)	
20%	<i>idem</i>	0% (X-4)	
15%	Scholarly books, encyclopaediae, etc.	0% (X-5)	
10%	<i>idem</i>		5% (X-6)
0%	<i>idem</i>		15% (X-7)



TABLE C: *Prices to be Paid by Subsidized Institutions*

*School-books approved by the Minister of Education which may be purchased by accredited bookshops in Canadian currency from the original publisher (or his exclusive distributor).*

Basic discounts obtained by accredited bookshops	Categories of books generally corresponding to the basic discounts opposite.	Discounts to be allowed to institutions on the Canadian list prices	Margins for services rendered and to be added to Canadian list prices to be paid by institutions
40% and 38%	Dictionaries, group reading text-books	20%	(Y-1)
35% and 33 1/3%	Dictionaries, group reading text-books, etc.	20%	(Y-2)
30% and 25%	<i>idem</i>	15%	(Y-3)
20%	Student text-books, tests, index cards	8% (Y-4)	
15%	Student text-books	0% (Y-5)	
10%	Teachers' hand-books	5% (Y-6)	
0%	<i>idem</i>	15% (Y-7)	

*Definitions of the expressions used in tables A, B and C*

(a) "Foreign books not under exclusive distributing rights in Canada and that accredited bookshops may purchase in foreign currency" means books published outside Canada, under foreign copyright, which may be purchased by accredited bookshops directly from the original foreign publisher (or his exclusive foreign distributor), without any agent, and for which they are billed in the currency of the foreign country, at the list prices of the original publisher (or his exclusive distributor), less a discount.

(b) "Canadian books" means books published in Canada, under Canadian copyright, which may be purchased by accredited bookshops directly from the original Canadian publisher (or his exclusive Canadian distributor), without any agent, at the list prices of such publisher (or his exclusive distributor), less a discount.

(c) "Foreign books under exclusive distributing rights in Canada" means books published outside Canada, under foreign copyright, the original publisher of which has granted exclusive distribution in Canada to a Canadian distributor who is the only person authorized to import them from outside Canada and fix the list prices thereof in Canada; such books may be purchased by accredited bookshops directly from such distributor at the fixed list prices, less a discount.

(d) "Foreign books not under exclusive distributing rights in Canada, which may be purchased by accredited bookshops in Canadian currency" means books published outside Canada, under foreign

copyright, which may be purchased by accredited bookshops directly from the original foreign publisher (or his exclusive foreign distributor), without any agent, at the list prices fixed in Canadian currency by the said original foreign publisher (or his exclusive distributor), less a discount.

(e) "School-books approved by the Minister of Education" means text-books properly so called, that is the books used by students the whole year long and on the lists of text-books approved by the Minister of Education, and pedagogical materials such as teachers' handbooks, exercise copy-books, tests, index cards and audio-visual material, such material being complementary to the said books.

(f) "American books subject to customs duties" means English books published in the United States, under American copyright and not under exclusive distributing rights in Canada, which may be purchased by certified bookshops directly from the original American publisher (or his exclusive American distributor), without any agent, and for which they are billed in American currency at the list prices of the original publisher (or his exclusive distributor), less a discount, and which are, upon entering Canada, subject to a 10% customs duty under tariff items 16900-1 and 17100-1 of the Customs Tariff of Canada. Most of such books are literary works, books for youth and dictionaries. However, English books published in the United States and used for teaching shall be subject to no customs duties.

(g) "May be purchased" means that the books concerned may be purchased by accredited bookshops in the manner prescribed. If, on grounds of expediency, any accredited bookshop purchases from an agent (Canadian or foreign wholesaler, foreign agent, local bookstore, etc.) books that it could have purchased directly in the manner prescribed, such purchase shall not change the nature of the said books and the prices to be paid by institutions for such books shall be those which they would have had to pay if such accredited bookshop had purchased them directly in the manner prescribed.

(h) "Basic discounts" means the discounts allowed by Canadian and foreign publishers (or their exclusive distributors) at the time of sale on the list prices fixed by them, to any accredited bookshop purchasing the required strict minimum of books. Such discount must not be mistaken for the lesser discounts allowed by certain publishers to a bookshop that does not purchase the strict minimum of books to be ordered in a single order; it shall also not include any cash discount, special condition or additional discount which may be allowed to any accredited bookshop to take into account special services rendered by the latter to the publisher.

(i) "List prices" means the retail prices suggested by publishers or exclusive distributors and used as fixed prices in making out invoices for accredited bookshops. As to list prices in foreign currency, such prices sometimes mean all taxes included, and sometimes, excluding local taxes. There is no sales tax on books in Canada.

(j) "Categories of books" means the kinds of books on which publishers and exclusive distributors generally allow accredited bookshops the basic discounts given opposite each category in the above tables. However, publishers do not all take strict account of the said categories and some of them allow, for certain works, discounts which do not correspond with those mentioned in the tables. For instance, some foreign publishers allow as basic discount a mere 30% on some art books; there are some Canadian publishers whose basic discount to bookshops is as much as 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ % on dictionaries, etc.

(k) "Exchange rate" means the coefficient by which accredited bookshops must multiply the list prices given in French, Belgian, Swiss, American or English currency, as the case may be, to determine the net prices in Canadian dollars to be paid by subsidized institutions. For example: a scientific book listed at 10 French francs must be sold at \$2.30 to institutions; a scholarly book listed at 10 Swiss francs must be sold at \$3.20 to institutions.

- (l) "Discounts to institutions" means the percentages of list prices in Canadian dollars, at the time of sale, that accredited bookshops must deduct from such prices to determine the prices to be paid by the institutions.
- (m) "Margins for services rendered" means the percentages of the list prices in Canadian dollars, at the time of sale, that accredited bookshops must add to such prices to determine the prices to be paid by the institutions.











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